Dudley Knox Library
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA 93943

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
Monterey, California

THESIS

THE MORO PROBLEM:
AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

Dennis Bryce Fowler

June 1985

Thesis Advisor: Claude A. Buss

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

T223035

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM

1. REPORT NUMBER

2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.

3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER

4. TITLE (and Subtitle)
The Moro Problem: An Historical Perspective

5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED
Master's Thesis; June 1985

6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER

7. AUTHOR(s)
Dennis Bryce Fowler

8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)

9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943-5100

10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS

11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943-5100

12. REPORT DATE
June 1985

13. NUMBER OF PAGES
129

14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS(if different from Controlling Office)

15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report)
Unclassified

15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)
Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

Philippines	Conflict
Moro	MNLF
Muslim	BMA
Islam	BMLO
Insurgency	

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

For over 400 years the Muslim people of the southern Philippines have been at war. They have resisted the Spanish occupation of their ancestral homelands, the American colonial presence, and the current Christian government.

To understand what motivates the Moro people to such conflict it is necessary to study their history, religion, and the ethnic fabric which makes up their various regional groups.

The fundamentals of their religion require a homogenous Islamic government. In the Philippines this would require separation, or at least total autonomy for the Muslim areas. This has never been allowed by the Christian government which has perpetuated the cause of the Moro insurgency. Conflict will surely continue as long as Christian authority is imposed upon the Moro people.

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

The Moro Problem: An Historical Perspective

by

Dennis Bryce Fowler
Captain, United States Air Force
B.S., Northrop Institute of Technology, 1974

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

from the

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
June 1985

ABSTRACT

For over 400 years the Muslim people of the southern Philippines have been at war. They have resisted the Spanish occupation of their ancestral homelands, the American colonial presence, and the current Christian government.

To understand what motivates the Moro people to such conflict, it is necessary to study their history, religion, and the ethnic fabric which makes up their various regional groups.

The fundamentals of their religion require a homogenous Islamic government. In the Philippines this would require separation, or at least total autonomy for the Muslim areas. This has never been allowed by the Christian government which has perpetuated the cause of the Moro insurgency. Conflict will surely continue as long as Christian authority is imposed upon the Moro people.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION. 7

II. REGIONAL GROUPS OF THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES . . . 12

A. MAGUINDANAO 12

B. MARANAO 17

C. SAMA. 23

D. YAKAN 26

E. TAUSUG. 30

III. MORO CONFLICT 41

A. SOUTHEAST ASIA. 41

B. PHILIPPINE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD 42

C. THE SPANISH PERIOD. 43

D. THE AMERICAN PERIOD 51

E. THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE. 53

F. SUMMARY 56

IV. THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM. 58

A. MIGRATION 58

B. CORREGIDOR. 60

C. THE MUSLIM INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT. 62

D. PRE-MNLF VIOLENCE 64

E. MARTIAL LAW 66

F. GROUPS AND LEADERS. 67

1. The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). 67

G. ETHNIC SPLITS IN THE DISSIDENT GROUPS. 75

H. EFFORTS AT PEACE 76

1. Kuala Lumpur Conference. 76

2. Tripoli Agreement. 78

3. Karachi Summit 80

V. HEADS OR TAILS 82

A. FACTORS FAVORING VIOLENCE. 82

B. FACTORS FAVORING PEACE 97

C. AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE MINDANAO SITUATION. . 108

VI. CONCLUSIONS. 114

ENDNOTES. 116

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST 128

I. INTRODUCTION

For over four hundred years the people of the Southern Philippines have been divided and at war with one another. The essential division between some of them has centered on religion with Islam opposing Christianity. Other factors have exacerbated their fundamental conflicts.

The Islamic people of the Southern Philippines are generally referred to as "Moros." Their homeland covers an aggregate area of 45,000 square miles including the islands of the Sulu Archipelago, Palawan, Basilan, and portions of Mindanao.[1]

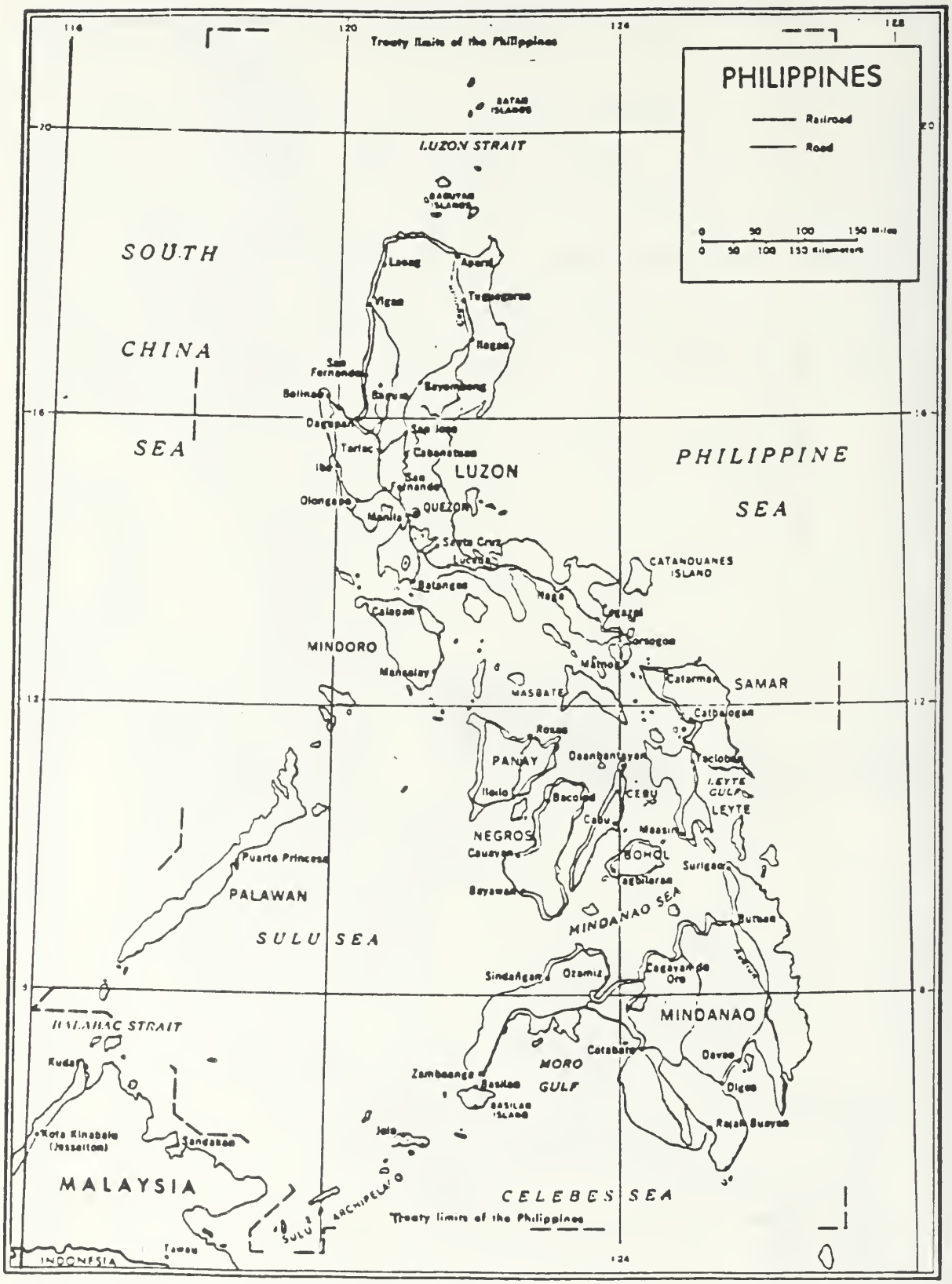
Until the late 1970s, eighty percent of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) were dedicated to suppressing the insurgency in the south. As late as 1981 there were twelve AFP batallions serving in the area.[2] Currently, (1984) six batallions remain along with two batallions of military police. There are also 64,000 indigenous non-Muslim personnel of the Civilian Home Defense Force who are armed and technically controlled by the AFP.[3] The Muslims are presently fielding approximately 16,000 armed combatants by government estimates.[4] During the 1970s there were as many as 30,000 Islamic warriors actively fighting in full time service to their cause.[5]

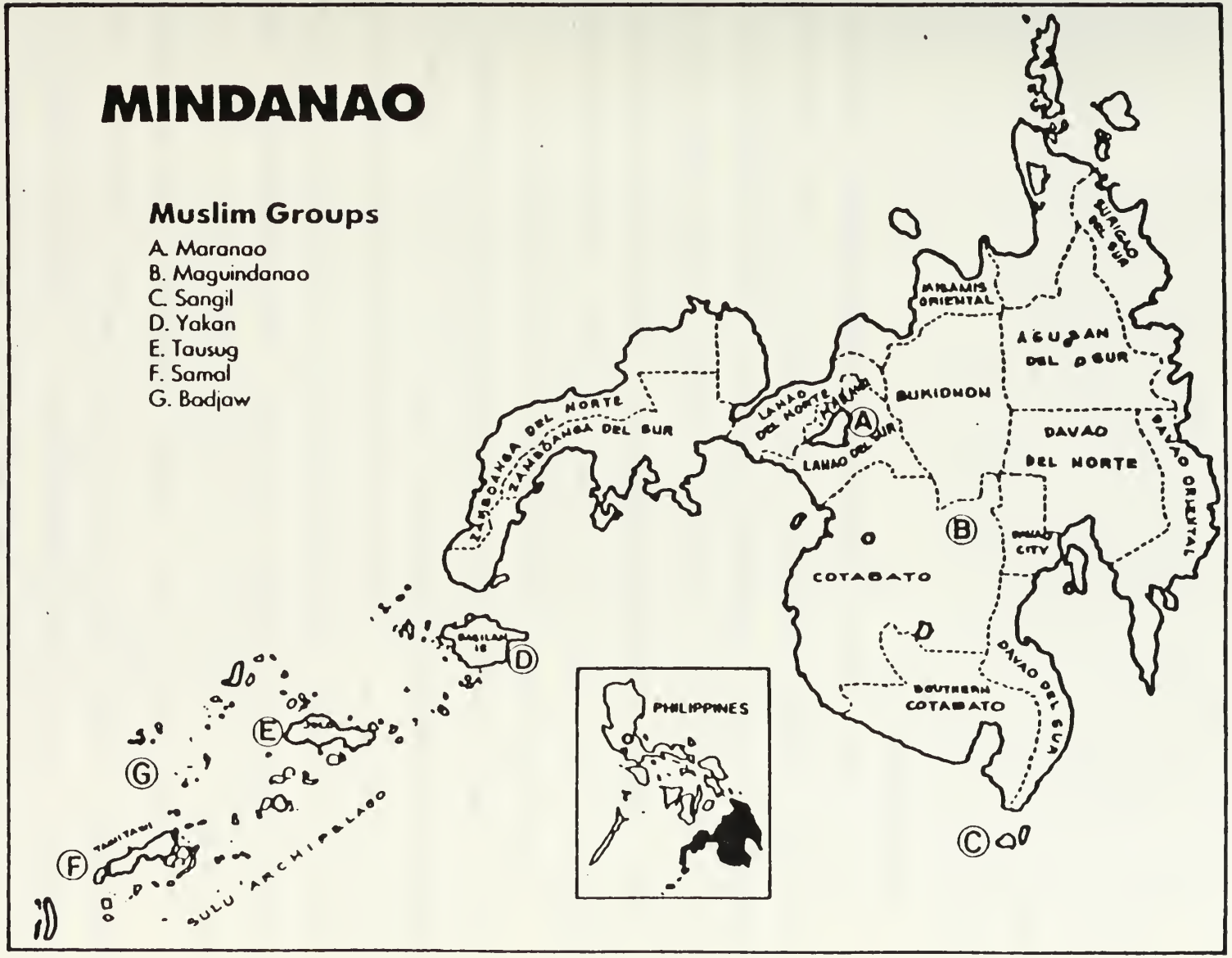
The cost in lives and suffering has been significant. President Ferdinand Marcos estimated in 1977 that the

conflict had produced 500,000 refugees. There were 100,000 lives lost in battle; 500 AFP soldiers died in 1982 alone.[6]

This study seeks to gain an understanding of the ethnic make-up of the Moro people, their history, religion, and the factors spurring such a long term and seemingly unreconcilable confict. An understanding of the causes of conflict may suggest ways and means to reduce the bloodshed and suffering, with resulting benefits to U.S. interests in the Philippines.

SOUTHEAST
ASIA
CHINA
INDIA
BURMA
VIET NAM
LAOS
TAIWAN
THAILAND
CAMBODIA
VIETNAM
PHILIPPINES
MALAYSIA
SUMATRA
MALAYA
SABAH
SARAWAK
BORNEO
KALIMANTAN
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
INDONESIA
JAVA
PAPUA
NEW
GUINEA
SOLOMON
ISLANDS
AUSTRALIA


PHILIPPINES
Railroad
Road
Treaty limits of the Philippines
LUZON STRAIT
SOUTH
CHINA
SEA
PHILIPPINE
SEA
LUZON
MINDORO
MASBATE
CATANDUANES ISLAND
SAMAR
LEYTE
PANAY
CEBU
NEGROS
BOHOL
PALAWAN
SULU SEA
MINDANAO SEA
MINDANAO
MORO GULF
CELEBES SEA
MALAYSIA
INDONESIA
Puerto Princesa
Zamboanga
Cotabato
Davao
Jolo
Tawao
Kota Kinabalu (Jesselton)
Sandakan
Ruda
Treaty limits of the Philippines


MINDANAO
Muslim Groups
A. Maranao
B. Maguindanao
C. Sangil
D. Yakan
E. Tausug
F. Samal
G. Badjaw
ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE
ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR
LANAO DEL NORTE
LANAO DEL SUR
MISAMIS ORIENTAL
BUKIDNON
AGUSAN DEL SUR
DAVAO DEL NORTE
DAVAO ORIENTAL
COTABATO
SOUTHERN COTABATO
DAVAO DEL SUR
BASILAN
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
PHILIPPINES

II. REGIONAL GROUPS OF THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

One of the basic errors made when dealing with the Filipino Muslims has been the tendency to think of them as only one people whereas there are several distinct regional groups of Moros. This chapter is an analysis of the Moro people and their ethnic characteristics.

A. MAGUINDANAO

The largest group of Moros is the Maguindanao. As of 1978, they numbered approximately 730,000 or about two percent of the population, primarily located in the provinces of Cotabato on Mindanao.[7] A short distance to the north are two other closely related Muslim groups: the Maranao, around Lake Lanao, and the Iranon, who live along the coast of Illana Bay.

The Maguindanao, meaning people of the flood plain, inhabit the Pulangi and Rio Grande de Mindanao River basins which are a mass of marshlands interconnected with severely winding waterways. Earlier in history they settled on the banks of the many rivers and streams and on the higher ground in and around the marshes. The two largest settlements are Cotabato City and Dulawan (or Datu Piang).

The Maguindaneo have a common language. They have also had common social and political institutions, dress and ornamentation, and the religion of Islam. They have absorbed other groups of neighboring people who would share the

acceptance of their socio-political organization and their belief in Sunni Islam.

Outward symbols of the Maguindanao can still be observed. The men typically have shaved heads or very close cut hair. Their heads are normally covered in public with a kerchief or turban which may be topped with a woven hat. Some men still wear the tubular wrap-around skirt. In the past, members of the elite could be identified by a certain type of curved hat and, especially, an ivory-handled gold and silver decorated kris (curved sword).[8]

In Maguindanao communities, there can usually be found large wooden houses (or long houses) which may be inhabited by one large extended family or several related families. Communal use of land and resources is common. Early in their history, the primary form of cultivation was a crude form of "slash and burn." Their traditional foods were rice, tubers, sago, and recently, corn, supplemented by coconuts and a large variety of fruit.[9] Chickens and goats were raised and fish were harvested from the rivers and marshes. Some spices were grown as well as coffee, betel nut, cacao and tobacco. Recently the plow and harrow method of wet rice farming has replaced the old slash and burn method of food production.[10]

As with most Malay cultures, their pre-Muslim religion was based on animism. The process of conversion to Islam is cloaked in legends of dubious veracity.

The most commonly accepted legends attribute the Maguindanao's conversion to Sarip Kabungsuwan, a Muslim Prince of Johore (Malay Peninsula) who claimed to be a direct descendant of the prophet Mohammed. According to the legend, Kabungsuwan first set foot on Mindanao around 1500 A.D. with a small group of Sama warriors. So strong was his wisdom, personality, and the appeal of his message of Islam, that he won all of his converts peacefully.[11] Both Maranao and Maguindanao elite families trace their genealogical lines back to Sarip Kabungsuwan.[12]

The legend says that the Malay prince assumed the local title of datu (chieftan), which, at that time, was the highest rank that could be held. His successors however, became known as sultans who were in turn advised and supported by a council of datus known as the Ruma Bechara. One of the primary functions of the Ruma Bechara was to choose the heir to the sultan. It was common for key military and civilian positions to be held by relatives of the sultan. The decisions of the Ruma Bechara were therefore of great political, social, and economic interest to many who aspired to leadership.[13]

The Islamic conversion of the Maguindanao spurred their rapid expansion early in the sixteenth century. Their power expanded to the point that they controlled most of the trade between the sea coast and the interior regions of Mindanao and virtually dominated most of the

southern part of the island from Zambianga to Davao. The Muslims of the lowlands extracted tribute and taxes from the pagan tribes in the hills and used these tribes as a source of slaves.

When the Spanish came to the Philippines in 1565, they clashed immediately with the Maguindanao, but were never able to subdue their Moro enemies.

The American conflict with the Maguindanao ended in 1905 when their leader, Datu Ali of Cota Bato, was defeated. After his defeat the primary efforts of the American, and subsequently the Philippine government, was to integrate the Maguindanao with the rest of the nation politically and to encourage resettlement in Cotabato by non-Muslim Filipinos.[14]

The social organization of the Maguindanao is unique in that it has a system of social rank known as maratabat (a sociopsychological value involving pride, honor, self-esteem, face, and rank). The amount or degree of maratabat that is accorded an individual depends directly on heritage, with those most directly linked to Kabungsuwan given the highest rank of datu. The sultan was then chosen from among the datus. The next lower rank is dumatu (lesser noble). Next are the sakop who are followers or freemen. Lowest in rank are the ulipun who are freemen that have been indentured for crimes or debts. Below, and not included in the overall

social rank system, are the banyaga (slaves) who provided an important base for the Maguindanao society during traditional times.

Among the Maguindanao orthodox Islam has been mixed with folklore. Especially in rural areas there is only very limited practice of Islamic rituals and obligations and the fundamental teachings of Islam are only superficially and imperfectly understood. The formal Islamic beliefs of the villagers are commonly coexistent with strong ancient beliefs in environmental spirits. Magic rituals and healing ceremonies are still quite common. According to legend, Sarip Kabungsuwan possessed miraculous powers of magic and healing.[15] Often times these beliefs are perpetuated by the local religious leaders, known as panditas, who conduct religious ceremonies and attempt to give a rudimentary understanding of the Qur'an to the people. Lately, with a closer affiliation with primary Muslim institutions and nations outside of the Philippines, and increased interest in orthodox Islamic beliefs and practices has resulted in a corresponding reduction in the belief of magic. Many new mosques and madrassas (Islamic schools) have been constructed in Cotabato recently for the formal religious education of Muslim youth.[16]

In the recent past the home region of the Maguindanao, (Cotabato), has been divided into several provinces in

order to provide more jobs for government officials. The Maguindanao are subject to special laws which apply only to Muslim Filipinos. These laws allow them to maintain some of their cultural traditions, more notably the practices of polygamy and divorce.[17]

The overall economic development in the Muslim areas of the Cotabato provinces has been very minimal. The Muslims attribute this shortfall to government preference for development in Christian majority areas. Non-Muslims tend to blame the current situation on what they see as the backward and archaic social and political systems to which traditional Muslims tend to adhere. These systems favor a few of higher rank and ignore the needs of the masses. The datus have lost a great deal of power due to the increasing influx of non-Muslims into the area. As the numerical balance has shifted to the Christians' favor it is becoming increasingly rare to see a datu elected to provincial or national office, unless he has the blessing of Malacanang.

B. MARANAO

The maranao, which means People of the Lake, are predominantly situated around Lake Lanao in the northwest portion of the island of Mindanao. The Maranao language is distinct from, but somewhat similar to the Maguindanao.

The Iranon, known alternately as the Iranum, Illanun, or Ilanon, live in and around Balabagan, which is southwest of Lake Lanao on the coast of Illano Bay.

The Maranao are racially related to the Malay and Indonesian peoples as are most Filipinos. Consequently, they are physically indistinguishable from the majority of their countrymen.

The lake from which the Maranao derive their name, Lake Lanao, is the second largest fresh water lake in the Philippines and is approximately 2,300 feet above sea level. It is fed by a multitude of small mountain streams and empties into the Agus River. The southern tip of the lake is approximately 21 miles from the city of Malabang on the southwestern coast of Mindanao. The Maranao are, therefore, predominantly an inland group, traditionally isolated from coastal influences and colonial powers. The mountainous terrain between the coast and the lake has provided a natural boundary which has helped isolate the Maranao from outside influence. Recently, a cement road between Marawi City and Iligan City, as well as other improved transportation means, has ruined their isolation.

Of the many Muslim groups in the southern Philippines, the Maranao were the last to be converted to the Islamic faith. The Maranao numbered about 205,000 in 1977, which numerically ranks them as the second largest Muslim group in the Philippines, About 90 percent of them live in the Lanao del Sur province with the remaining 10 percent living in Lanao del Norte as well as portions of Cotabato, Zamboanga del Sur, and Bukidnon.[18]

The predominant occupations of the Maranao are farming and fresh water fishing. The eastern side of Lake Lanao is a fertile rice growing area. At the present time government officials are attempting to introduce new irrigation techniques and seed varieties which, it is estimated, could triple the rice production of the area. In other areas of Lanao the rich soil, plentiful rainfall, and mild climate allows the production of a surplus of corn, peanuts, sweet potatoes, coffee, citrus fruits, and exotic tropical fruits. Farming methods are not very advanced, so the usual difficulties with soil exhaustion and pests exist.

The Maranao's other economic endeavors include such various forms of cottage industry as cloth and mat weaving, wood carving, and metal work in brass, silver, and gold. Maranao merchants eke out a living by traveling throughout the Philippines selling their wares.

The primary city of the Maranao is Marawi, which was formerly known as Dansalan. This city, located in the northern tip of Lake Lanao, is their commercial, cultural, and educational center. In 1970 its population was about 50,000, making it the largest city in Lanao del Sur as well as its provincial capital.[19] The Maranao commonly travel from their homes around the lake to Marawi to trade or sell products at the market in return for clothes, household utensils, farm tools, and those items not available in the rural areas and villages.

The Maranao cultural values are based on the principles of clan relationships, hospitality, and maratabat, and the basic precepts of the Islamic religion.

The typical village is comprised of multiple related households. Several of these families may live together in a single structure or may join together in a food-sharing co-operative. The traditional housing structure has no partitions inside. Sleeping areas are situated along the walls with an aisle down the center of the structure. Each family occupies one sleeping area which will usually have a kapok mattress, straw mats, embroidered pillows, and a cloth canopy, which serves as suspension for a mosquito net. Toward the rear of the house is a common kitchen area which is shared by all of the occupants. All the residents of a housing structure, or long house, are usually related. These relationships are carefully recorded in each individual's geneology, This heavy emphasis on family history promotes a strong feeling of kinship.[20]

Many of the Maranao folk arts also help strengthen these family ties. They are typically practised at large gatherings to commemorate such special occasions as marriage, death, or unique individual achievements. Such gatherings usually call for a feast at which there may be the chanting of the individual's geneology, the playing of various musical instruments, singing of folk tunes, and the playing of games and dancing.

A Maranao may be a member of several villages simultaneously, because membership is based on kinship not residency. Kinship is passed down from both maternal and paternal lines. This, added to the tendency to marry outside of their immediate clan group, further complicates the individual's duties and requirements of clanship. Although it is possible to have membership in more than one village because of kinship, it is also possible to live within the territory of a village and not be a member due to lack of proper lineage. To the Maranao the village unit is a grouping of individuals who share common lineage rather than a place or land area.

The rights and duties imposed upon an individual are directly related to his family line, however, his personal ranking and ultimate prestige in the overall society is predominantly determined by acquired skills, such as reader of the Qur'an, interpreter of Islamic law, or public speaker. Also important is his ability as a village leader to settle disputes, effect revenge for insults or the killing of a close relative, and to exhibit brave conduct in battle. These personal skills and attributes can easily outweigh low ranking heritage for a talented individual.

The form of Islam practiced by the Maranao is of the Shafi school. It shows evidence of a strong Sufi influence, primarily due to key words used by them as well as some group chants at religious ceremonies. The pre-Islamic beliefs and practices dealing with agriculture, the cycles of nature,

and the spirit world are more noticeable in rural areas than in urban centers. The Islamic beliefs of the Maranao are strongly influenced by the Arab world because of Arab teachers who lived among them and due to a small but highly regarded group of young men and women who have traveled to the Middle East to study Islamic subjects. These individuals commonly teach in the local madrassa upon their return. As a result of Arab influence as well as pressure from the Philippine government and private enterprise, the folklore of the Maranao is gradually, but steadily, changing. They have become increasingly sensitive to the criticism directed toward them by both Muslim and non-Muslim groups and individuals accusing them of not being in line with orthodox Islamic principles. The outcome of this tension has been a growing rift between the traditional and modern ways of development.[21] The Maranao were very much opposed to the restrictions forced upon them by the Christian Filipino administration during the martial law period.

The Maranao preference seems to be for a federated system of government which they feel would give them an opportunity to become more autonomous. Lacking this they would like a total secession from the republic in order to become a truly Islamic state. Due to their overwhelming loyalty to kinsmen, they are quick to shelter and hide armed rebels from government persecution even if they might personally disagree with their cause. The rebels are commonly referred to as "the children" by the Maranao.[22]

C. SAMA

The Sama ethnic group is the most widely dispersed in Southeast Asia. Spread over an area of greater than 1.25 million square miles, the Sama are found from Borneo to the Moluccas and from the northern tip of the Philippines to southern Indonesia.[23]

The largest group of Sama, numbering some 203,000, are the Suluan Samal, found in the Sulu Archipelago and along the coasts of southwestern Mindanao and eastern Sabah.[24] Thanks to their numbers, they have the greatest strength and the greatest economic influence among the Sama people.

Their settlements commonly take the form of closely spaced homes located on small expanses of well-protected shoreline. They have tended to build their homes directly over tidal shallows. In other locations the Sama villages are constructed on the beach front or immediately adjacent to it. Most of the homes are built on pillars providing three to six feet of clearance underneath. The construction materials used are dependent on the relative wealth of the owner. The most inexpensive domiciles are constructed using framing materials of mangrove, split bamboo flooring, and walls and roof of thatch. They enclose about 400 square feet of living space, all within one room. The more expensive and lavish home is normally constructed of commercially obtained sheet lumber and corrugated metal roofing. This type of home may have several partitioned sleeping areas, a porch, and a separate cooking area.[25]

The social organization of the Sama is based on the individual family unit which consists of a married couple and any dependent offspring. It is not uncommon to see an elderly parent or older sibling residing within this unit. The large extended family also exists among the Sama. Although the basic unit is the nuclear family, it is common to see Sama moving about within their extended family on a temporary basis.

The next division within a community of households is that of a tumpuk or residence cluster. Tumpuks usually are composed of households physically situated close together. The households within the tumpuk are also commonly geneologically related. Each of these clusters will acknowledge one individual from within its residents as its leader. Several of these tumpuks will attend a single mosque. This larger grouping is known as a parish and will also have chosen a leader from among those within it. The leader of the parish is commonly the owner or sponsor of the mosque and becomes the leader in political and legal matters. A larger community may contain several parishes from which is chosen a headman from among their leaders to serve as the leader for the community as a whole.

The primary source of income for most Sama families (except the Yakan) is provided by fishing.

The cutting and drying of firewood from mangrove and the collection of tidal food plants and animals, as well as

seaweed or agar-agar are common examples of supplemental income producing activities. Probably the most profitable activity is in copra production and is seen as a more desirable alternative to fishing. There are comparatively few members engaged in copra as a primary occupation, however, due to the need of capital for investment.

An interesting aspect of the Sama culture is the cooperative relationship that has been developed with the inland groups. The Sama produce an abundance of protein foods from fishing, but they do not produce sufficient quantities of starch. The inland groups produce an abundance of rice and root crops, but very little animal protein. The arrangments that have evolved are of obvious benefit to both, however, the Sama have also managed to reap political profit from the situation. Their near monopoly on fish production over the centuries has given them security options against the more powerful, both politically and militarily, peoples of the adjacent inland areas. The traditional Muslim system of determining political power was based on land ownership. The Sama have never controlled large amounts of land because of their maritime economic base. This did give them a mobility that was not available to the inland groups, who were involved in many intergroup conflicts over territory. The Sama could easily trade with whomever they pleased to obtain food starch while all the inland groups were reliant on the Sama for animal protein.

D. YAKAN

The Yakan of the southern Philippines live predominantly in the interior of the island of Basilan. With a population of 97,000, this group of Sama are all of the Sunni sect of Islam following the Shafi school. Although they were probably the original inhabitants of Basilan, they now comprise less than one-half the population and their percentages continue to decline. The towns of Isabela and Lamitan, as well as the immediate surrounding area, contain the majority of Christian Filipinos, while the Tausug and Sama are primarily found in the coastal villages.[26]

Basilan is located just off the southern tip of Mindanao. It has a volcanic origin and is presently 495 square miles in area. The interior of the island is mountainous in places with some table lands and rolling hills that are arable.

The Yakan are largely occupied with farming on their individually owned fields. The crop most often grown is upland rice, supplemented by camote and cassava. Yakan men and women typically work side by side in the fields to plant, weed, and harvest the crops. However, it is strictly the males' job to cut and burn off the fields at the completion of a harvest and then to plow it in preparation for the next crop.

These are people of the fields and therefore have formed no compact villages. Their homes are scattered among the

fields and are usually rectangular and built on piles. They have wooden or bamboo walls and a very steep thatched roof. Except for the cooking area, which may be partitioned off, the typical home has only one room plus a porch. Although the Yakan are all Muslim, they make no special arrangements or closed quarters within their homes for the women. The household normally consists of a husband and wife and any unmarried children. There might also be a newly married son or daughter with their new spouse for a short period of time.[27]

As with any Muslim, the center of religious life is the mosque. Among the Yakan it is a very simple structure which does not have a minaret. Instead, a small bamboo drum is used to call the faithful to prayer. All prayers, religious activities, and celebrations are officiated by an Imam. The Imam prays with an individual who wishes to address himself to God.

The position of Imam is hereditary by tradition. There is advanced study necessary so that the Imam may fulfill his responsibility to be the authority on Islamic law and custom. As religious leader, the Imam is usually among the few who actually fast throughout the month of Ramadan and pray five times per day. The majority limit ritual praying to Fridays and fast for only a few days during Ramadan. Very few of the Yakan make the required pilgrimage to Mecca. Alms are dutifully given at the end of each harvest.[28]

To maintain Islamic tradition, Yakan children are normally taught to recite the Qur'an, but not to read Arabic script. The group follows the Muslim calendar celebrating all of the usual Islamic observances, however some of them show evidence of pre-Islamic influence. The Yakan consider themselves to be some of the most pure and orthodox Islamic believers. Other Muslims do not agree with this assessment. In recent years Muslim missionaries have attempted to give them instruction in orthodox Islamic practices. Little success has been noted. Christian missionaries have had even less success.[29]

The institution of marriage follows some, but not all, of the Islamic teachings. The Qur'an allows a man to have as many as four wives if he can support them. The Yakan put no limit on the number he may have, but do say that a man may not marry a second time without the consent of his first wife, unless he is divorced. It should be noted that the majority of the men have only one wife and an extremely small number have more than three. It is the responsibility of the man to initiate the proposal of marriage. He must pay a "bride price" plus all expenses incurred, either directly or indirectly, with the wedding ceremonies. The wedding consists of two ceremonies; one is a Muslim ritual, the other is of pre-Islamic origin. Both ceremonies are conducted by the Imam. The new bride and groom normally live for a short time with one of their families until they

can establish a household of their own. A new home may be built on the land of either family.

Divorce is fairly common and easily obtained by either spouse. Upon divorce the land on which the house is built, as well as the house, must stay within the original family. They do follow the Muslim law that says that anything the wife brings into the marriage, as well as that which is acquired by her during the marriage, is retained by her after the divorce. The Yakan tradition of inheritance differs from the Islamic tradition. The Qur'an indicates that a daughter's inheritance should be one-half that of a son's. The Yakan treat them equally.[30]

Yakan women have never been segregated, nor do they wear a veil. Both men and women wear similar clothing, consisting of tight fitting shirts and pants. They are commonly seen working side by side, especially in the fields. Yakan women usually handle the sale of produce in the market place. Within the last decade the women have greatly increased their output of woven goods and have organized to market their goods on a large scale outside of their community.[31]

The Imam holds the dual responsibility of religious and secular head of the community. He and the elders usually sit in judgement of both major and minor crimes. According to Philippine law, major crimes should be dealt with by government authorities but this rarely happens.

With the influx of western ideas in the Philippines many new problems have plagued the Yakan. In earlier times the Yakan were a very private people, who stayed mostly to themselves in the interior of the island. They used to trade with the Sama but their contact with Christian Filipinos and Tausugs was almost non-existant. The Christian Filipinos have now come to settle on what was formerly Yakan land. A few of these settlers have acquired large tracts of land and have turned them into plantations. The Yakan farmers are now required to have legal title to their land or they will lose it to Christian Filipinos who can obtain the necessary documents through "legal" means.

The Muslim rebellion, which is the main element in this study, affected the Yakan directly since much of the heavy fighting was on Basilan. This forced a majority of the Yakan to leave their homes and land, fearing for their safety. Although a small number of them joined sides with the rebels or the Philippine Army, a large number of them remained neutral, feeling that violence was not the solution to their problems. Because of their lack of support, the Yakan will always be a minority among the Moros. They are, however, probably the most progressive and peace loving among them.[32]

E. TAUSUG

The Tausug are primarily situated within the Sulu chain of islands with the highest concentration being on Jolo

Island, and lesser cells in Zamboanga del Sur and Cotabata provinces, and Basilan Island.

In Sabah, the Tausug are known as Suluk. Regardless of name or location, the combined Tausug cultural group of the Philippines numbers about 500,000.[33]

A unique feature of the Tausug language, unlike most others in the Philippines, is that it is relatively free of variation due to local dialect. Its development seems to have evolved from the Bisayan languages spoken on Negros, Cebu, and Leyte. Written communication is primarily reserved for religious materials among the Tausug and a Malay-Arabic script is used for this purpose.

The Tausug probably originated in a gradual migration from northeastern Mindanao brought about by the southward movement of Chinese trade during Mongol times.[34] There is very little evidence to indicate when Islam was first introduced into Jolo, but even at the end of the Sung period Arab trade was very active with South China.

The Sulu Archipelago may have been a way point for this trade stream. Chinese Muslims moving southwards may also have been partly responsible for the infusion of Islam into the Sulu area. Much later in Tausug history, their belief in Islam was stimulated by Sufi missionaries who came from Arabia or Iraq via Malaysia and Indonesia.[35]

The historical leadership of the Tausug dates back to the establishment of the Sulu Sultantate in the mid-fifteenth

century when most Tausug had converted to Islam. The Sulu sultanate theoretically unified all of the Sulu Archipelago. Under this leadership the Tausug traded heavily with China until the mid-nineteenth century. Many Chinese foods, weights and measures, and some methods of dress and items of clothing were adopted by the Tausug during this period.

One of the main goals of the anti-Moro policies of the Spanish in the sixteenth century was to stop Tausug slaving and looting raids into the northern islands. The first large scale conflict between the Tausug and the Spanish occurred when the Spanish attacked the town of Jolo in 1578.[36] In spite of sporadic raids, the Spanish did not establish a permanent garrison in Jolo Town until 1876.[37]

With the American defeat of the Spanish in 1898, the Americans met strong resistance from the Tausug. Jolo Town was occupied in 1899 but the resistance was so strong that the Americans did not gain full control of Jolo Island until 1913.

Under the Pax Americana, all weapons were collected and slavery was abolished. Under the provisions of the Carpenter Agreement of 1915, the Sultan of Sulu, Salip Jamal Ul-Kiram II, in exchange for an annual payment, gave up his rights to secular control of the Tausug, but retained religious authority.[38]

As a result of World War II, the Tausug obtained large quantities of American firearms. To this day the Philippine

government has never been able to completely control the island of Jolo. The Tausug have never abandoned traditions of smuggling, piracy, and raiding, primarily directed toward the coastal settlements of Mindanao and Basilan.[39]

The purchase of guns and ammunition will usually take up a major portion of the average Tausug household budget. For many families it may take up to three years to save enough money to purchase a firearm. In some areas it is estimated that 30 to 40 percent of the cash income is devoted to the purchase of weapons.[40] The observation was made in the middle of the nineteenth century that the Tausug carried their kris (Malay curved sword) much as an English gentlemen of the Middle Ages carried his sword as a symbol of his masculinity and power. The symbolism has now shifted from the kris to the rifle, although it is common to see both carried. To be properly dressed for a social affair it is necessary for the Tausug gentleman to carry a gun. Due to the relative expense of a firearm, not everyone owns one. Therefore an elaborate and almost ritualized system of borrowing guns among kinsmen and close friends has evolved. At any given social event approximately four out of every ten guns will have been borrowed.[41]

Many of the most outspoken Muslim students of the Philippines come from Sulu. The leader of the Moro National Liberation Front, Nur Misuari, is from Jolo. This has led to some of the fiercest fighting in the recent past being

centered in Sulu and especially Jolo. A battle between government and Muslim forces in 1974 caused the destruction of almost two-thirds of the town of Jolo.[42] A large number of people fled to Zamboanga and Sabah as a result.

Aside from piracy, raiding and smuggling, the economy of the Tausug is based in agriculture and fishing. Some food animals, mostly cattle, chickens, and ducks are also raised. The primary method of agriculture is to use fields that are permanently diked and irrigated, however, there are still a few swidden or slash-and-burn farmers. Most of the farmers raise crops using a rotation system to allow for three annual harvests.

The major crops that are raised for profit are copra, coffee, abaca, and fruit. Copra production was greatly stimulated after World War II, primarily as a means to gain capital for the procurement of weapons and ammunition. Fruit varieties which are sold for profit grow wild in many of the Tausug areas. The fruit is usually transported to Mindanao, Cebu, and Negros via motorboat, while the copra and abaca is usually sold to Chinese middlemen who are on Jolo Island.

The method of fishing utilized by the Tausug employs motorized boats in offshore waters. Various equipment is used including nets, hook and line, and various types of bamboo traps. There are some fishermen who use illegal methods including dynamite charges. At night it is common

to see many lights offshore. These are kerosene lanterns used to atract fish to the lines.

The typical Tausug community is very dispersed and loosely knit. With the exception of Jolo Town and the coastal villages and towns of the fisherman, the Tausug will normally live close to his fields. The smallest Tausug grouping is the household or a small cluster of households containing mostly kinsmen. The next larger grouping is the lingan or hamlet, this also may include many close relations. The Kauman or community is the first grouping which will have a chosen leadership, usually one man who is known as the headman. The kauman is also the first level that is identified by a common name. Its strength and solidarity in relation to other kauman depends a great deal on the amount of intermarriage within as well as the effective leadership of the headman. Also important is the percentage of attendance at a common mosque.

The traditional home and center of the Sulu Sultanate is Jolo Town. The political presence of the sultan has drawn many to reside in Jolo Town as well as make it the political, economic, educational, and transportation center of Sulu. In 1970, Jolo Town was estimated to have 45,000 permanent residents.[43] Daily transportation service is available from Jolo Town by either sea or air. The town is still in the rebuilding process after the damage that occurred during the battles between the government and the

Tausugs in 1974.[44] The town now has several schools, modern stores, hospitals, movie theaters, and government offices. The population of Jolo Town, although predominantly Tausug, is a hodge-podge of Sama, Bodjau, Chinese, and Christian Filipinos, as well as some Americans and Europeans.

The institution of marriage among the Tausug is one that has traditionally been by parental arrangement, however, courtship is becoming increasingly popular among younger Tausugs. Marriage arrangements between first and second cousins are common since the parents are kin and this simplifies any problems with inheritance. Negotiations for marriage are many times complex. The groom's family must agree on a bride's wealth or dowry, which must be delivered in full before the wedding can take place. The wedding is then held in the groom's residence with an Imam heading the ceremony. The most popular times for weddings are directly after the Ramadan fast and during Mohammed's birth month. It is traditional that the newly married couple live for at least a short time with the wife's family. Later it is permissable for them to live with the groom's family or to establish their own household.[45]

Lately it is becoming more fashionable to elope or abduct one's chosen partner rather than following the traditional lines. The advantages of this procedure are that it makes it possible to choose one's mate and that it usually costs less than more formal arrangements, even though a

fine must be paid to the headman. If a Tausug male has the financial ability, it is permissable for him to have several wives sustained in separate households. Divorce is permissable as a last resort. It is estimated that less than ten percent of Tausug marriages end in divorce.[46]

Childbearing is considered a responsibility of marriage, if not a requirement. Many peculiar customs are followed during pregnancy in order to increase the chances of a successful birth. One very common belief is that one must abstain from bathing in the sea as it will cause a still birth. Most births take place either in the woman's residence or in a hospital in Jolo Town. A new birth in the community is heralded by the sounding of gongs. An Imam is summoned to offer prayers for the new arrival, who is then given either an Arabic or American name. Tausug tradition teaches that a new child is vulnerable to evil spirits throughout the first several years of its life. The child will therefore by given a protective amulet to wear. When the child is about two years of age a ceremony known as the paggunting is performed during which a lock of its hair is cut by an Imam. He then pours perfume over the child's head and offers prayers.

When the child is five to twelve years old, by tradition he will begin studying the Qur'an with a religious tutor or guru. Some time after the completion of this study a public ceremony is held during which the young Muslims will recite memorized verses of the Qur'an.

Another important religious ceremony is held when a young man is circumcised during his early teens. When a young woman is six or seven she undergoes a comparable ceremony. Almost all Tausug children attend some form of elementary educational institition, but very few ever complete this education.[47]

The domestic duties of a female Tausug child begin at a very early age. Early chores may include helping their mothers cook, working in the vegetable garden, and caring for any younger children. Young males spend increasing amounts of time with their fathers in the fields or fishing. A rather strictly adhered to custom is a taboo on young men and women mixing in public. Acquaintances between sexes are normally made at weddings, funerals, and religious gatherings. There is some evidence that this taboo is weakening, especially in the larger towns where foreign influence is strongest. Unlike many of the Middle Eastern Islamic countries, Tausug women may participate in commercial activities and may dress without a veil.

Life after death is a mixture of Islamic beliefs and local customs. It is the Tausug's belief that everyone has four souls and that they depart the body upon death. It is believed that the body of the dead goes to Hell where the length of stay is dependent on the amount of misconduct during life. No matter how bad an individual has been, however, every Tausug believes that he will eventually reach Heaven.[48]

The Tausug primarily follow the Shafi school of Sunni Islam. They believe in God and accept the five pillars of Islam. However, few say the five daily prayers or can afford a pilgimage to Mecca. The Imam is a central point in the community. Since very few Tausug know how to read (including Arabic), one of the Imam's primary duties is to translate the Qur'an.

There is still a strong belief in environmental spirits. They are blamed for sickness and thanked for good fortune. These beliefs and the associated rituals date back to pre-Islamic times. There are still folk curers, a type of medicine-men who receive their powers of healing through dreams and instruction from others like themselves. Herbs and prayers play an important part in their remedies.

The social system of the Tausug is very complex and inviolate. Children are taught to unconditionally respect and obey their fathers and mothers. Marital relationships usually endure for a lifetime. Brothers and sisters also display a high degree of solidarity, especially when defending a family's honor. This system extends to include friendships. The ritual friendship is formed when two men swear on the Qur'an an everlasting friendship in front of witnesses.

It is believed that the violation of a ritual friendship will cause the offender to become sick and possible die. Friends are essential in the Tausug system, especially when confronted by a feud or dispute.[49]

This social system is in many ways dependent on each individual's position within it. One's social position and power is determined by such factors as the size of his personal fortune, the size of his following, titles, personal courage, and the number of guns owned.

This study is focused on the less than 2,000,000 of the 50,000,000 people in the Philippines. They are divided thus:

Maguindanao	730,000
Maranao	205,000
Sama	203,000
Tausug	500,000
Yakan	100,000

Their commonalities include religion, way of life, and an anti-government attitude. Their differences center on tribal and personal rivalries. They all feel that as a people they have been left behind by the political parade; sacrificed to Manila, neglected and abused by Marcos.

They expect a better living; and feel that it is better to die fighting to get better treatment for their people than to starve to death or to be abused. As a people the Moro have existed for over 400 years; most of this time at war with those that would impose another life style upon them. This chapter has explained the life styles of the various Moro groups. We must now study the conflicts which have precipated when these life styles have come in contact with others.

III. MORO CONFLICT

A. SOUTHEAST ASIA

As Sufism began to take hold in Southeast Asia, rifts developed between local customs, called adat, and Islam in which the ulama (the religious learned men and interpreters of Islam) gradually rose to the status of an elite group. This group challenged the holders of traditional indigenous power which lay with the adat. This led to social upheaval and unrest.

Sufism became the dominant political power in Southeast Asia toward the end of the fifteenth century, after the fall of Madjapahit influence.[50] Adat traditions and power bases remained a strong influence resisting Islam. Some time in the eighteenth century in central Java, a new civilization emerged which blended indigenous customs, Hindu-Buddhism, and Sufi mysticism.[51] This Indonesian society was led by an aristocratic class which was separate from the religious leadership which had prevailed previously.

Each of the various regional groups of Southeast Asia accepted or attempted to reject Islam in their own way. The old ways of the adat tradition with Islam at first superimposed, then becoming modified and part of each of the regional groups, led to the partial absence of cultural and social unity within Southeast Asia. Another factor which

was imposed over Islam was the coming of western culture. The religious aspects of the current Filipino-Muslim conflicts in the southern Philippines can be best assessed in the light of its relationship to the ages-long Islamic struggle.

B. PHILIPPINE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

The archipelago, now known as the Philippines, was inhabited by various types of people long before the thirteenth century. They spoke many different languages and dialects, worshiped spirits, and were grouped into a large variety of regional social structures. Each segment was essentially independent but when interaction did occur, frequently so did war. The primary causes of conflict were the same as those existing today: to grab land, resources, or anything else of economic value. Furthermore, each in-group disliked those who did not belong to their class, group, race, or who did not look or behave like them, or who did not have beliefs identical to theirs.

Early in the thirteenth century, Islamic growth became evident in many parts of ancient Malaysia which is now Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.[52] In this way Islam gained recognition in the land of the Tausugs, the Samals, the Maguindanao, and the Marano.

Gradually the Muslim faith came to dominate the peoples of Sulu, Mindanao, Palawan, and in some parts of Luzon.[53] By the end of the sixteenth century most of the coastal

villages in the Philippines, if not Islamic themselves, were victimized by Muslim raids. At the time, corresponding to the arrival of the Spaniards, the Muslims were focussing their attention on the spoils of war and slaves. They had little interest in the territorial expansion of their control or the conversion of Filipinos to Islam.[54] There were vast areas of unpopulated and undeveloped portions of Mindanao and Sulu. Muslim raids were not caused by external threats, territorial expansion, or overpopulation. There was no cohesive organizational structure developed to bind Muslim groups together or to Islamize systematically beyond the borders of Muslim land.[55]

Due to the already established and predominant adat when Islam was first introduced, its teachings never fully penetrated the Filipino consciousness. Filipinos lacked the enthusiasm which was prevalent during the Islamic expansion in the Middle East.

C. THE SPANISH PERIOD

The pattern of Filipino Muslim conflicts was substantially altered with the arrival of the Spanish who brought with them an organized religion which was not tolerant of Islam. The natives of the Philippines became divided into Indios, who were Christianized, and the Moros, who were Muslim. The people of the northern and central islands began to profess Christianity. This was primarily due to Islam's weakness in this area. The people of the southern

islands remained loyal to Islam, especially the Tausugs, Samals, Maguindanaons, and the Maranaos.

Conflicts between the Spanish and the Moros were inevitable. Violence marked the frequent Muslim raids into the northern areas. In an effort by the Spaniards and Christian Filipinos to stop the raids, the weaknesses of the never before challenged Moro forces were highlighted, necessitating the development of new strategies.[56] As Muslim disunity became apparent, the Spanish became more aggressive in their quest for gold, spices, and, incidentally, Christian (Catholic) converts.

The Spanish aim was not only to contain the spread of Islam, but to conquer it.[57] This conflict in turn precipitated the solidification and strengthening of the Moros, who fought to retain their homes and country, for the freedom to follow the ways of Allah, and to roam and travel wherever they wished.

An example of the attitudes of the Spanish sent to Mindanao is evidenced in this message.

> ...You shall order them not to admit any more preachers of the doctrine of Mahoma, since it is evil and false, and that of the Christians alone is good. And because we have been deceived by the preachers of Barney, and the people have become Moros. You shall tell him that our object is that he be converted to Christianity, and that he must allow us freely to preach the law of the Christians, and the natives must be allowed to go hear the preaching and to be converted, without receiving any harm from the chiefs.
>
> And you shall try to ascertain who are the preachers of the sect of Mahoma, and shall seize and

> bring them before me. And you shall burn or destroy the house where that accursed doctrine has been preached, and you shall order that it be not rebuilt.[58]

Of primary importance is the origin of the term "Moro." Since the early history of the Philippine islands, well before the coming of the Spanish, the people of the southern Philippines were known by their ethnic groups, namely Tausug, Samal, Maguindanao, and Maranao. Moro is a Spanish term for Moor and refers to the Muslim people of mixed Arab and Berber descent living in northeast Africa, who invaded and occupied Spain in the eighth century A.D. To the Spanish, the Moors of Africa and the Moros of the Philippines were exactly the same enemies.

The hostility that the Spanish felt for the Muslims in the Philippines was rooted in the long struggle between Christianity and Islam for control of the Holy Land, and eventually for the preservation of the Iberian peninsula itself. The Spanish had been fighting for seven centuries.[59]

The term "Moro" or "Moor" is derived from the Latin word "mauri" which was used by the Romans for the inhabitants of the Republic of Mauritania, which covered the western portion of what is now modern Africa and northeastern Morocco.[60] The term has also been linked to the Spanish word for walls, muros. In the peninsula, the Spanish used to fear what came over the walls; Muslims. Thus, the Spanish were predisposed to war with the Filipino Muslim.

The entire period of the Spanish in the Philippines was marked by never-ending wars with the Moros. From the Muslim's point of view, the wars are regarded as a defensive jihad reaction to outside aggression against Islamic lands. The first stage of Moro conflict began with Spain confronting Brunei for the political interests in the Philippine archipelago.[61] The Spanish were triumphant and gained control of the Manila Bay area, which had previously been ruled by the Bornean aristocracy. They effectively eliminated the Bornean influence on any trade from the Visayas and northern Mindanao. The Spanish also ventured toward Mindanao in 1571 and destroyed several Muslim fortified outposts there. The Muslims, at that point, started to realize the potential of their new enemy, who made use of weapons, technology, and tactics not seen before. The Sultan of Brunei prepared a fleet of 200 war vessels armed with 7,000 warriors to retake Manila, however, the venture never got out of the harbor because the Spanish attacked Brunei in 1578 and 1581, and eliminated the power of Borneo over the Philippines.

During the closing years of the sixteenth century the Spanish attempted to establish colonies on the islands of Mindanao and Sulu.[62] The primary purpose of these actions was to weaken the Muslim rulers and to remove foreign teachers of Islam, while attempting to infiltrate Christian missionaries into the area. The appointed Spanish governor of Mindanao, Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa was

dispatched to his God with the help of the Moros of Maguindanao.[63] Although as a rule the different Muslim sultanates in the southern Philippines refused to act together, during this period the Sultan of Ternate and the Sultan of Mindanao aided each other against their common Spanish enemy.[64]

As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spanish sought to control the Visayas. Prior to the Spanish arrival the people of the Visayas were the frequent targets of Muslim raids. They were forced to pay tribute to the Moros of Maguindanao. The contest was over whether the Visayas should pay tribute to the Moros or the Spanish. It was during this period of the Moro Wars that the Muslims conducted large scale raids against coastal Visayan villages and abducted large numbers of Visayans as slaves, some of whom were assigned the task of rowing the large varaccas (Moro war boats) to help fortify the strength of the Moro war effort.

The conflict was terminated with a Spanish counter-offensive that established their power as far as the Moluccas. The outer limits of the Spanish conquest were established not by the power of the local Moro sultans but by the hostility of Spain's rivals from Europe, the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Spain naturally concentrated its efforts on its control of Mindanao and Sulu. They fortified Zamboanga in

1635, and decided it was time to put an end to the cooperation between the Moros and the Dutch.[65] The Spanish sent expeditions to the south composed mainly of Filipino Christians. The Spanish found the most effective control of the Muslims was obtained by devastating their homelands. The Spanish burned settlements, plantations, orchards, and fields; killing Moros indiscriminately, and taking large numbers of Muslims as prisoners for service as galley slaves. The capital of the Maguindanao sultanate fell to the Spanish in 1637 and Jolo, another primary Muslim center, fell in 1638.

When the Moros determined that resistance was futile, they withdrew into the highlands and interior portions of the islands and conducted guerilla warfare against the Spanish. The Moro strategy was relatively effective, forcing the Spanish into negotiations for peace. Treaties were signed with Maguindanao in 1645 and with Sulu in 1646. Although hostilities subsided, insulting and slanderous remarks by the Spanish continued to be aimed at the sultans, as well as the persistent attempts by missionaries to convert the "heathens" to Christianity. On their part, the Moros nursed along their efforts to preserve a jihad against their Spanish conquerors. A stalemate resulted as the Spanish were obliged to abandon Zamboanga and concentrate their energies on the defense of Manila itself against the powerful Chinese warlord, Koxinga from Taiwan.

After the extinction of the Koxinga threat, the Spanish renewed their attention to Zamboanga.[66] The Spanish discovered that, during their absence from Mindanao, the Moro sultanates strengthened both their organizational structure and the Islamic foundations upon which a majority of the Moros strength relied. This angered the Spanish missionaries, especially the Jesuits, whose self-proclaimed goal was to convert all of the Muslims to Christianity. It was the Jesuits who campaigned for the Spanish to gain superiority and control over Mindanao. After sporadic fighting, the Jesuits managed to convince the Sultan of Sulu, Azim-ud-din I, to allow a Jesuit mission to be set up in Jolo.

That particular sultan was quickly denounced by his followers and was replaced by his brother. The former sultan was able to make good an escape to Manila where he was later baptized as a Christian. This incident did nothing to stop the killings in the southern Philippines. Ilanun and Maranao forces continued their attacks against Christian Filipino settlements in the Visayas. Again the Spanish had to withdraw their forces to Manila to cope with a British invasion. Manila fell to the British in 1762 and was occupied by them for two years. Although Manila was returned to the Spanish by the peace of Paris, the Spanish were unable to resume the intensity of their determination to conquer the Moros. As the power of Spain declined in the world, the Spanish were hard pressed to preserve their

hold on the Philippines. The Moro south was a minor problem by comparison.[67]

In 1842 an American naval expedition formalized a trade and navigation treaty between the United States and Sulu. The Spanish were in no position to protest this threat to the Spanish control. In 1843 the French, in connection with their war against China, sent an expedition to try to establish a naval base on Basilan Island. Later in the 1840's the British attempted to renew a former trade agreement with the Sultan of Sulu. As a feeble response, the Spanish launched a major offensive ostensibly to curb Suluan piracy. The first attack was centered on Jolo in 1851 and successfully captured the area and advertised to the world that it claimed Sulu as a protectorate. Spanish steam-powered gunboats imported to the Philippines in 1848, continued to ravage the coastal villages until, in 1860, the Moro resistance had become so weak that the Spanish set up a "government of Mindanao." This Spanish-inspired government aided the expansion of the Jesuit missionary cause to "secure the conversion of the races which have not yet been subjected." The Sultanate of Sulu agreed to treaties acknowledging Spanish sovereignty over his domain.[68] Because of the advances of other European powers in the area, the Spanish no longer dreamed of total subjugation of the Moros. The Spanish only wanted the Moros to accept Spain as the sovereign power in the Philippines. This never happened.

D. THE AMERICAN PERIOD

To the Moros, the most obvious result of the Spanish-American War of 1898 was that the Spanish were replaced by the Americans. Aside from differences in language and methods of operation, Americans and Spanish seemed to be the same. Both were Christian, therefore anti-Moro. The Moros were confused as to how Spain could relinquish sovereignty to the Americans when they had never had sovereignty in the Moros' eyes.[69]

When the Americans arrived in Sulu and Mindanao, they brought with them elemental concepts of "democracy," which was contrary to the basic traditional beliefs of the sultans, datus, and other local leaders. American style democracy professed consent of the governed and respect for individual rights. The Muslim ruling class believed that they had almost absolute power over their subjects and that the lands of the community actually belonged to its rulers, while their subjects only enjoyed its use at the leaders' consent. The American forces in the area forcibly imposed restrictions on certain "barbaric practices" such as slave trafficking but did so using distinctly undemocratic methods.[70]

Other than these restrictions, there was very little interference with Muslim religious and social practices until 1902. The Americans were more concerned during this period with the Philippine Insurrection in the northern

islands. The additional American forces which became available at the termination of this conflict allowed a mass movement of troops toward the south. The Moros became uneasy because of these large increases in American forces in their homelands.[71] Small confrontations rapidly grew out of control, which, in turn, led to a full-scale "pacification" program by the Americans.[72] The Moros were primarily the losers in the several major battles that were fought. This was because of their inferior weapons, technology, and training. The fighting was the most fierce around Lake Lanao and on the island of Jolo.

The Sulu area of Moroland did not yield any major disturbances during the period in which the U.S. Army was in control. There was an interesting encounter, however, that made use of a Muslim weapon which had not yet been encountered. In 1901, Panglina Hassan and his followers engaged American troops near Seit Lake.[73] The primary reason for the conflict was Hassan's anti-colonial passion. During this encounter Hassan used sabilallahs, who normally work alone and had not been used previously as part of the overall Moro strategy.[74]

From 1899 to 1913, Moroland was under the direct control of the United States Army. The last encounter between the Moros and the American forces was the Battle of Zud Bagsak in 1913. From 1914 to 1920 Moroland was governed by an American civilian agency, the Department of

Mindanao. In August 1916 the Jones Law was signed by President Woodrow Wilson. The primary effect of this law was to accelerate the Filipinization of Moroland. The preamble to the act clearly stated that the United States was determined to relinquish sovereignty over the Philippines and to recognize their independence as soon as a "stable government can be established therein." It was also stated that the Filipinos be given the greatest possible control of their own domestic affairs within the realm of American sovereignty so that they may prepare themselves for the responsibilities of independence.[75]

E. THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

In 1920 matters took a downward turn, in Moro's eyes, when control of Moroland was relinquished to the Filipinos. The Filipinos were Christians, but also Catholic, and were regarded as less tolerant than the Protestant Americans. The organization which gained control of Moroland was known as the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in the Philippine Department of the Interior, which was under the control of the Philippine Legislature.

Matters grew steadily worse as a Christian led government strove to gain footholds in a Muslim land. Throughout the remainder of the American Period the Moro's leaders continually petitioned the authorities in both Manila and Washington to regard them as different and separate people,

to be considered and dealt with independently from the rest of the Philippines. They wished to be granted either independence or to be retained under American rule. They were fearful of the Christian Filipinos who had fought on the side of the Spanish against the Moros for so long. They had come to feel that the Americans had generally good intentions and could be trusted to carry out their promises. An example of this uneasiness and distrust of the Christian Filipinos, as well as their dissatisfaction with the current government, was evidenced in a petition signed by fifty-seven prominent leaders in Sulu on June 9, 1921. It declared that "It is the desire of the people of Sulu that the Sulu Archipelago be made permanent American territory." It also registers their complaints against the Christian Filipino government structure that was imposed upon them:

> The Philippine Legislature has failed to work for the benefit of our people. They have failed to recognize our religion. They have failed to pass any laws recognizing our marriages, celebrated by our Mohammedan priests, and according to the present laws in force in the Philippine Islands, and also the decisions of its courts, our wives are concubines, and our children illegitimate. The Philippine government cannot protect our religious customs, nor our marriages, as they have no laws to guide them in these questions.[76]

In 1924, the Congress of the United States received a "Declaration of Rights and Purposes" sent to it by a group of Moro leaders who claimed to represent nearly half-a-million Mohammedan residents of Mindanao and Sulu. There did seem to be widespread support of sentiments put forth

in the declaration and in 1926 the Congress placed it in the official record. An excerpt of it reads:

> In the event that the United States grants independence to the Philippine Islands without provision for our retention under the American flag, it is our firm intention and resolve to declare ourselves an independent constitutional sultanate to be known to the world as the Moro Nation. It is the duty of the Congress of the United States to make provision at once for the security and protection promised to us when we surrendered our arms to the United States Army. This promise is just as sacred as any alleged promises you may have made the Christian Filipinos. You have left us defenseless, and it is your duty to protect us or return to us the weapons you took from us and which we freely gave you, relying on your promises.[77]

President Franklin D. Roosevelt received a letter which was a reaction to the formation of the Philippine Commonwealth and the last steps heading to independence, signed by one hundred and twenty Lanao datus, which read in part:

> Because we have learned that the United States is going to give the Philippines independence, we want to tell you that the Philippines is populated by two different people with different religious practices and traditions. The Christian Filipinos occupy the islands of Luzon and the Visayas. The Moros (Muslims) predominate in the islands of Mindanao and Sulu. With regard to the forthcoming independence, we foresee what condition we and our children who shall come after us will be in. This condition will be characterized by unrest, suffering, and misery and because of this we do not desire to be independent. It is by living under the stars and stripes that those hardships would not bear down against us. The Americans have ever respected our religion, customs, traditions, and practices. They have also recognized our rights to our property. The Americans have directed most of their efforts for the welfare of our people.[78]

F. SUMMARY

There are several reasons why the Muslims originally made the American forces the target of violence and malcontent. The most obvious of these is that the Americans took the place of the Spanish, who had not exactly won everlasting love from the Moros. Just the fact that they were there and in the position of an implanted power made them the subject of attack. The Americans were not yet in the business of economic exploitation to the degree that the Spanish had been. Instead, they were trying to enforce the colonial system. The primary reason for the anti-American reaction was a fundamental determination to resist an alien ruler. It was the product of Muslim ethnic pride and an intense sense of freedom.[79]

Militarily, the American presence was a new kind of challenge to the Muslim warriors' code of honor and traditional qualities of individualism and personal courage, as well as skill in the use of traditional weapons. The American military stressed group and team concepts as well as the use of technologically superior instruments of war. Thus, there was a severe contrast in the image of military forces who were put into an adversary situation so abruptly. The Americans saw the Moro warrior as one of exceptionally fine warrior qualities, but with extremely ineffective military hardware. The Muslim image of the American military was one of an effective fighting force whose superiority was found in technology.[80]

In fact, the American military specifically developed the Colt 45 semi-automatic handgun to more effectively stop Moro warriors. So great was their courage and religious zeal that smaller caliber weapons proved ineffective unless they were aimed very accurately.

The Moros easily recognized the usefulness of quality weapons. The end of their military dominance in Sulu and Mindanao in 1913 signaled the surrender of an inferior fighting system to a more efficient one. Many of the conflicts between Moro and American forces may have been centered on the possible capture of American weapons. The Moros developed an intense fascination with firearms which still exists today.[81]

The Muslims never accepted that they had been defeated by superior warriors, only by superior weapons. Had the Moros possessed weapons approximating those of the American forces, the Americans too would have been forced out of Moroland.

Thus it is easy to see how, on gaining independence, the Filipinos inherited not a peaceful area, but an area that had known civil strife and resistance to the governing power throughout its centuries of existence. Religious differences lay at the heart of the Moro conflict.

III. THE ROOTS OF THE CURRENT PROBLEM

A. MIGRATION

The American period in the Philippines came to a close at the termination of World War II, when sovereignty was receded in 1946. This period in Philippine history was occupied with recouping war losses and the establishment of the framework and stability necessary for any new nation's survival.

The new government regarded the southern portions of the nation as a resource-rich frontier albeit rough and inhospitable. Officially sponsored colonization of these areas had begun in 1912. This was now seen as a national solution to agrarian discontent which was threatening government solidarity due to increasing population pressure. Every settler was supplied with an official title deed. Most Muslims felt themselves bound only by customary laws and refused to obtain "official" titles to their ancestral lands. Some of the more shrewd datus understood the implications of these changes and obtained titles to their own lands and, in many cases, to the lands of their clansmen.[82] This, in turn, has led to today's disenchantement with some of the traditional Muslim leadership. Some of the leadership has legal basis for large-scale landlordism while others sold out making themselves rich and their clansmen landless.[83]

The government further antagonized the Moros by using their homeland as a place of exile for former members of the communist Hukbalahap movement (Huks) and their sympathizers.[84]

Land disputes rapidly became the focus of concern in Moroland. Due to the imposition of government rule from the north, Christians usually controlled the agencies which made and enforced land decisions.[85] As Christian settlers increased in numbers, they began to dominate schools, court systems, the military, professions, heavy enterprise, and small scale farming.[86]

By 1950, some 8,300 families had been moved to government settlements in the south. Between 1950 and 1954 another 1,500 families arrived. By 1963 the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA) was controlling settlements which included over 25,000 families and 695,000 hectares of land. This migration pattern was drastically increased during the Marcos regime. Over three million Christians settled in Mindanao between 1966 and 1976.[87]

The Christian migration to the south coincided with a period of increasing Christian presence as well as an influx of Islamic missionaries from Indonesia, Egypt, and other Islamic countries. Small Islamic organizations sprang into existence all over Moroland. There was also a large increase in chartered pilgrimage ships to Mecca, young

people attending Islamic universities overseas, and the building of mosques.

B. CORREGIDOR

The present Muslim unrest had its start in 1966 as President Marcos was beginning his first term in Malacanag Palace. His pre-occupation with foreign affairs and the Philippines claim to Sabah allowed problems in the south to become much worse and subsequently, out of control. The current Muslim uprising traces its origin to the Jabidah episode, otherwise known as the Corregidor Incident.

The Corregidor Incident started with a top-secret project code-named Operation Merdeka. It involved the recruitment primarily of Tausugs in Sulu for what they thought was a private army, something not uncommon even today. In December, 1967, Operation Merdeka and its 180 Muslim recruits were transferred to the isolated island of Corregidor in Manila Bay.[88] At this point the code name was changed to Jabidah and the recruits began intense training in the techniques of infiltration, sabotage, and assassination, as well as jungle survival. The training was administered by what was called the Civil Affairs Office and was kept so secret that most of the high ranking officers of the Armed Forces were completely unaware of its existence.[89]

In March, 1968, news agencies reported a mutiny on Corregidor in which 14 Muslims had been killed and 17 were missing.[90] This was verified by a Muslim trainee after he was rescued in Manila Bay where he had been floating, clinging to a log, seriously wounded. This man claimed that he and his fellow trainees had complained of not being paid and wished to resign. He said that they were then escorted to the airfield on Corregidor and shot. He had managed to roll behind a bush hidden by darkness then made his way into the water.[91]

There are two opposing views of this incident which surfaced upon investigation. The one which was favored by government officials was that this force was formed to divert personnel that might have otherwise joined a clandestine guerrilla force led by Sulu Muslims whose purpose was to invade and seize Sabah which had once been part of the Sulu Sultanate. In theory this was intended to prevent war and the needless loss of life.[92]

The explanation favored by the Muslims was that the secret force was formed to invade and seize Sabah for the Philippine government. Tausugs were chosen because they were Muslims (as is the population of Sabah) and they speak a language which is mutually understandable. They were also civilians which afforded the government deniability. The Muslim trainees rebelled when they discovered that their training would lead them into conflict with fellow Muslims.[93]

C. THE MUSLIM INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

The climax of the Corregidor Incident was the military court martial of the accused officers and men. The acquittal of all involved sparked widespread outrage among the Muslims. There were demonstrations all over Manila and the more militant Muslims started organizing an anti-government political movement that had decidedly revolutionary undertones. Support for these activities came from many Muslims.

Some were disgruntled due to a perceived lack of government support to help them out of an economically depressed condition. Others were angry that the government had not pursued the Sabah claim as a Muslim issue.[94] Still others felt that the Corregidor Incident was proof of the low regard for Filipino Muslim lives on the part of the government.

On May 1, 1968, Datu Udtog Matalam declared the formation of the Muslim Independence Movement (MIM). This organization called for the creation of an independent state (Minsupala) to include most of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan.[95] The motives given for the formation of the MIM were objections to Sabah being claimed by Filipino Christians, indignation over the Corregidor massacre, and the deplorable economic conditions in the Muslim areas.[96]

The reasons for the MIM's creation proved not to be as important as the threatened feeling it evoked among the Christians. Soon, every instance of Muslim violence was in

some way tied to MIM. There were press reports of Christians fleeing Muslim areas. If this was not actually the case when it was reported, it soon became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Rumors were widespread that Datu Matalam would soon declare the independence of Mindanao from the Philippines and form the Bangsa Moro Nation.[97] Reports followed of travellers being attacked, roving bands of armed Muslims, homesteads being raided, and government officials being singled out and attacked.

Many Christians, especially those that stood to lose the most, chose to stand fast and arm themselves. This led to sporadic encounters between the various groups. Although there was occasional bloodshed, the reports in Manila greatly exaggerated the facts. An ambush in the town of Magpet reportedly killed twenty-six Muslims, but when government officials arrived to investigate, they found that an over-zealous Christian mayor had exaggerated the body count. The actual death count was sixteen--not Muslims--but gamecocks killed in games the previous Sunday.[98] Rumors became so desperate and widespread that many in Manila expected a declaration of independence and open warfare at any time. To counter any such Muslim movement, combat-ready troops were airlifted to Cotabato. As the armed presence increased, so did the numbers of kidnappings, ambushes, and killings.

D. PRE-MNLF VIOLENCE

From mid-1970 into 1971 violence centered in two provinces where migration had caused the greatest shifts in population and electoral percentages, Lanao del Norte and Cotabato del Norte. Bands of Christian vigilantes were in frequent collusion with Philippine constabulary units in their areas. These alliances were probably precipitated by the fact that the vigilante groups were primarily Ilongo and the constabulary was primarily Christian and led by an Ilongo.[99] In response to the Christian groups, which became known as Ilagas or "rats," the Muslims formed their own groups which became known as "blackshirts" in Cotabato and "barracudas" in Lanao.

By the end of 1970, the fighting between the Ilagas and the blackshirts in Cotabato had caused the closing of most schools, a nearly complete disruption of the local economy, and the mass evacuation of thousands of innocent victims.[100] As a result of these clashes, the casualty and refugee statistics soared on both sides of the conflict. The Social Welfare Administration estimated that 30,000 Muslims and Christians had been forced to vacate their homes and farms in Cotabato alone.[101]

In town after town, Christians pleaded for government protection. Correspondingly, town after town came under Constabulary control. On June 19, 1971, seventy Moro men, women, and children were executed after being herded into

a mosque in Barrio Manili, Carmen, North Cotabato.[102] On July 4, 1971, in the town of Wao, in Banao del Sur province, a grenade exploded in a mosque and over sixty Muslim homes were burned by Ilagas. In Lanao del Norte the situation was even worse. By September of 1971 over 50,000 people had been evacuated. In October, 17 soldiers in a 22 man constabulary patrol were killed by barracudas in the town of Magsaysay. This led to 66 Muslims being killed the next day in the same town.[103] In November in Barrio Tacub in the municipality of Kauswagan, approximately 200 Moros, who had been issued safe conduct passes to return to their homes to vote, were fired upon by government troops. At least 40 were killed with no casualties on the government side. An investigation by the National Bureau of Investigation resulted in charges of multiple homicide being brought against 21 army men including three officers and three civilians, one of whom was a Christian mayor. Muslim leaders wishing to curb the violence had instructed their followers to allow Philippine law to take recourse against the offenders of justice. In March of 1972 the charges against the three civilians and five of the soldiers were dropped. The remaining 16 soldiers never had judicial action reported against them so it is presumed that the case was quietly dropped.[104]

By the end of 1971, the war in Mindanao had taken 800 lives by official estimates and there were 100,000

refugees.[105] In 1972 the conflict had spread to Zamboanga del Sur and Lanao del Sur. There were strong rumors of an attack on Sulu which spurred the Tausugs to prepare to defend themselves against any possible encounter.

An important result of these atrocities and conflicts was the public statement by Moammar Kadaffi of Libya charging the Philippine government with genocide and threatening aid to the Moros. Although this was the first overt statement of its kind by a foreign Muslim leader, there is evidence that Kadaffi was already supplying aid to the "opposition" in the Philippines.[106]

E. MARTIAL LAW

On September 21, 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law. One of the stated reasons was the existence of conflict between Muslims and Christians in Mindanao and Sulu. He was quoted as stating that the violent disorder in that region had resulted "...in the killing of over 100 civilians and about 2000 armed Muslims and Christians, not to mention the more than five hundred thousand of injured, displaced, and homeless persons as well as the great number of casualties among our government troops and the paralyzation of the economy of Mindanao and Sulu."[107]

The declaration of martial law served only to strengthen the Muslim struggle for independence. Martial law gave

exclusive power to Filipino Christians (Marcos, his family and associates, "technocrats" in Manila, and the military). It left no room for anti-government political activity, forcing total acceptance of the regime or revolutionary activities, with no median available. The imposition of martial law required immediate collection of guns from civilians. Not only would this have removed an important status symbol from the Moros, but it would have prevented the future use of force if all else failed.

Armed defiance of martial law first occurred in Lanao del Sur on October 21, 1972.[108] An armed force of several hundred Moros laid seige to the Philippine Constabulary Headquarters in Marawi City and took control of the Mindanao State University campus. The radio station on campus was used to plead for support from fellow Muslims. This message stated that since Spanish times the government of the Philippines had been against the Muslims and that it was necessary to overthrow the government for the cause of Islam. Government troops arrived that same evening and regained control after a 24 hour battle.[109] Additional fighting spread quickly to Lanao, Cotabato, Zamboanga, and the Sulu provinces.

F. GROUPS AND LEADERS

1. The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)

Many small Muslim liberation organizations came into existence after the Corregidor massacre in addition to the

Muslim Independence Movement. One such organization, which began as an underground movement in the youth section of the MIM and continued after the government forced MIM to disband in 1970, was the MNLF[110] which surfaced with the declaration of martial law and gained strength rapidly. It became the strongest, best disciplined and coordinated of the dissident Moro groups.

The MNLF is a loosely knit organization. Organizationally, the MNLF has parallel political and military structures. A central committee of around twenty individuals heads the political structure, which also includes a political bureau, a propaganda and intelligence bureau, and provincial and barrio committees. The Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) is the military portion of the MNLF. It is headed by a field marshall who reports to, but is not directly supervised by, the central committee. There are also field marshalls at the provincial level and zone commanders at the city and town level. Regular BMA units are augmented by "home defense units" which are comprised of Muslims who have been trained but maintain their civilian status unless called upon to defend their local area.[111] Although rarely accomplished, ideally new recruits are first screened for suitability and then given six months of training and political education.[112]

The MNLF has enjoyed several advantages which have grown from superior knowledge of the territory in which

they operate and ties with the overall Islamic world. Primary among these has been their control of critical resources, especially the supply of weapons. Until the last half of 1975, when Tun Mustapha was removed from power, their primary supply of weapons and ammunition was by small fast boats from Sabah. Weapons ranged from automatic rifles to anti-tank rocket launchers. Their primary supplier now has become the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). The troops of the AFP are chronically disillusioned and suffering from low morale. This may be attributed to being in a remote hostile area where their adversaries have the advantage of familiarity. The government's inability to adequately support its troops in the southern region logistically, to include being delinquent with pay, leads some AFP personnel to sell their weapons to the Muslims out of a sense of futility or fiscal necessity.[113] There are reports that some MNLF units have formalized territorial and supply arrangements with AFP units operating in their areas.[114]

The primary leadership for the MNLF since its inception in 1967 has been Nur Misuari, a former political science instructor. Misuari comes from an extremely poor Samal-Tausug family. His father was never able to provide for the family due to poor health. Misuari was able to attend the University of the Philippines (UP) only because of a scholarship (which was barely adequate). There were times

at the university that he was forced to skip meals.[115] He gained prominence through his enthusiastic participation in campus activities. His favorite indulgences were the music of Nat King Cole, poker, reading, or long walks.[116]

Misuari's ideological foundation was largely laid during his time at the University of the Philippines. He was associated with the formation of the Bagong Asya (New Asia) in 1964; a group which first attempted to inject ideological undertones into the campus election process. Later he became one of the founders of a student organization known as the Kabataang Makabyong (KM) or Patriotic Youth and for a while he was the chairman of the Western Mindanao sector of the KM which became widely known as a Marxist front organization.[117] The KM was the first opposition group to be outlawed by the government at the outset of martial law.

Misuari intensively studied the teachings of Marx and other economists, but maintained his devotion to Islam. He became a staunch anti-capitalist with a deep sense of socialist mission. To rationalize the differences between Islam and communism, it was argued by the Misuari group that everything Mao Tse-tung had proposed had been previously proposed by the Prophet. Misuari and his followers chose to preach their beliefs in the name of Islam because many of the Moros were too strongly rooted in Islamic fundamentals to fully accept Marxism's call for the

abandonment of God. They did choose, however, to study and use Maoist tactics.[118]

Upon obtaining a degree, Misuari joined the University of the Philippines political science department and continued his involvement in Philippine Islamic politics and debates. In 1967 he became the primary individual responsible for the formation of the Philippine Muslim Nationalist League and the editor of its official newspaper, the Philippine Muslim News. It was at this point that Misuari had to come to grips with two basic problems involved in forming a national organization; the need for capital and political support. This would have to involve evoking support from non-government sources and traditional Muslim groups. The problem was that his idea of justice for Filipino Muslims involved the Marxist principles of egalitarianism, a total restructuring of power within the Muslim community, and the liquidation of the privileged class. This translated into a major obstacle between him and his necessary support. With the formation of the Muslim Independence Movement, Misuari found the support he needed. He took part in a guerrilla training program outside of the Philippines. While abroad he developed the necessary contacts and the independence required to form the MNLF as an underground organization in 1972. From this point on he slowly disassociated himself and his organization from the traditional leadership of the Moros.[119]

He is married to the niece of the wife of Salih Utulalum, a long time political leader in Sulu.[120]

Other leaders challenged Nur Misuari, chief among whom was Hashim Salamat. Shortly after the breakdown of the Tripoli Agreement, several rather drastic splits occurred within the MNLF.[121] Salamat, a Maguindanao and member of the MNLF central committee, broke away from the main organization favoring autonomy over independence.

Salamat is said to have been a "well bred" young man, given to solitude and introspection. Corruption among traditional politicians in Cotabato (his native area) caused him to develop a strong dislike for them. Unfortunately this also meant a dislike for his relatives since they were heavily involved in politics. In protest, he changed his name from Abdul Salam Hashim.[122]

Salamat's religious training was the foundation for his declaration that Islam was the central point on which the MNLF's ideology was based. Although this had not been publicly declared with Misuari's MNLF, no Moro group had ever disagreed with this concept. Salamat's group quickly elected him chairman of the "real" MNLF. Although confusing, this did not seem to disrupt the original MNLF's activities. In fact, there was a high level of cooperation between their combat units in the field.[123] Salamat leads his faction from outside the Philippines, splitting his time between Cairo, Egypt and Pakistan.

Shortly after the MNLF split, another group, which was predominantly Maranao, surfaced calling itself the Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization (BMLO) with headquarters in Jidda, Saudi Arabia. The BMLO was headed by an old name in Moro politics, Rashid Lucman.

Lucman, a Mindanao sultan, was the linking factor between Moro liberation leadership and outside supporters such as Tun Mustapha of Sabah and Kadaffi of Libya.[124] Although Lucman's political base was in Lanao del Sur, he commonly projected his influence far beyond these boundaries. He was listed by the Philippine Commission on elections as having a private army. He was frequently mentioned in rumors of violence and large profits connected with timber concessions awarded by the government.[125] Lucman's reputation with the government was established early in the Moro uprising when he chartered a Saudi Arabian ship to transport Muslims on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but failed to pay the bill. As a result the Saudi government seized a Philippine ship and crew in 1969 which happened to dock at a Saudi port.[126] The Philippine government was forced to pay the debt to obtain their release.

Lucman was the patron of several young Muslims whose names later became connected with the Moro liberation movements, the most notable of which was Nur Misuari.[127] Much of the current style of radical leadership among the Moro liberation movements can be traced back to Lucman.

It has been said that Lucman, a former congressman and leader of Lanao province,[128] is related to Tun Mustapha.[129] Regardless of his official connections and possible transgressions Rashid Lucman has high credibility among Moros because of his frequent travels to Muslim countries.

Prior to the formation of the BMLO, Lucman was proclaimed "Paramount Sultan of the Royal House of Sulu" by direction of the Marcos government. This title, as well as the BMLO's relatively moderate position, led many to believe that the BMLO was more a brainchild of Manila than Mindanao. He died in 1984.

A fourth group has recently become known, whose aim is to shore up the factionalism within the Moro camp.[130] It has identified itself as the MNLF-Reformist Group, calling for autonomy as its realistic goal and rejecting the independence and succession goal of the Misuari organization. The MNLF-Reformist Group is headed by a Maranao, Dimasankay Pundato. He is a former member of Misuari's MNLF who resigned in 1982. Pundato's group, as well as the BMLO, has been attempting to convince the Islamic Conference and the separate Islamic governments to retract recognition of Misuari's MNLF because they believe that independence is an unreachable goal and that pursuing it would only make matters worse for the Moros. Pundato leads his organization from Sabah where he enjoys the advantage of being close to those he leads.[131]

G. ETHNIC SPLITS IN THE DISSIDENT GROUPS

Among the four primary organizations and leaders, Nur Misuari enjoys the greatest popularity among the Moro leaders within the Philippines and is followed by the largest portion of the Moro population supporting armed struggle.[132] Because Misuari is a Tausug, his MNLF is more highly supported by the Tausug community than by the other ethnic groups.

The Pundato-Salamat-Lucman groups are primarily composed of Maguindanao or Maranao peoples and the leaders have been from traditional Moro nobility and bloodlines. Their primary external support has been from the traditional Islamic nations, i.e. Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia has actively participated in persuading the Philippine government to make decisions more favorable to the Moros on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The availability and price of oil have been used as enticements when dealing with these issues.[133]

Misuari's MNLF, with its commitment to Islamic nationalist ideology and revolutionary struggle, has formed its primary ties with Islamic countries pursuing similar goals. Misuari had maintained his residence and headquarters in Tripoli, Libya but has recently moved and is believed to shuttle between Syria and Iran.[134]

In June of 1979 an MNLF delegation led by Misuari was in Tehran to attend a conference of the "enemies of American

Imperialism in Iran." During this visit the MNLF delegation asked Iran's support for the Bangsa Moro Revolution. Help was granted by the Ayatollah Khomeini who said "the victory of the Islamic revolution of Iran would not be complete until the oppressed Bangsa Moro Muslims in the southern Philippines won their victory."[135] An official MNLF office was opened in Tehran soon after their meeting and in November 1980 this office was granted embassy status and the corresponding official recognition by Iran's Islamic government.[136] To further its support of the MNLF, Iran cut off its oil supply to the Philippines in addition to the United States, South Africa, and Israel.[137]

H. EFFORTS AT PEACE

1. Kuala Lumpur Conference

The first diplomatic openings between the government and the Moros took place at the Kuala Lumpur summit meeting of the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers in June 1974. The MNLF sent a delegation entrusted with the delivery of two documents. One was a description of the "rise and fall of Moro statehood" to gain attention to the plight of the Filipino Muslims. The second was an "appeal letter" requesting assistance in the Moro struggle for succession.[138] The foreign ministers response was less than the Moros had wished for. It called for "a political and peaceful solution...within the framework of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines."[139] As a result

of this conference, the Foreign Ministers denounced the socioeconomic measures proposed by the Philippine government to improve Muslim areas as being inadequate. They also recognized the MNLF as the representative of Philippine Muslims.[140]

With the high cost of military encounters in the south and the threat of oil sanctions, the government was compelled to make new overtures in an attempt to remedy the Moro problem.[141] To that end Muslims were abruptly appointed to government positions, "rebel leaders" were brought together for peace talks, and new offices and agencies were quickly assembled. Additional improvement programs and appropriations were announced and rumors were spread about factionalism, corruption, and foreign influence within the MNLF leadership. Just prior to the 1975 meeting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, President Marcos proposed the restructuring of the southern Philippines into areas that would have "virtual autonomy."[142]

Although the government's efforts at reducing the effectiveness of the MNLF leadership were successful in the short term, the long term effects are yet to be seen. Without a unified front the MNLF and its various factions have been unable to maintain sufficient control of their elements to enable them to effectively negotiate for a cease-fire or end to the hostilities.

2. Tripoli Agreement

After arduous diplomatic effort, a meeting was arranged between the members of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers and Imelda Marcos (as the representative of the Philippine government) in November and December of 1976. The negotiations which followed, which included MNLF officials, finally led to a cease-fire and the initial conditions for a peace settlement.

The cease-fire was to be coordinated and observed by a committee composed of representatives of the Philippine government, the MNLF, and the Islamic Conference. Tentative conditions for a peace settlement within the agreement included autonomy for the Muslims in thirteen provinces. This would include Islamic courts, a legislative assembly and executive council, and administrative system, and representation in the central government. Additionally, Muslim regional security forces would maintain law and order while the central government would maintain the responsibility for foreign policy and national defense. Control over education, finance, and the economic system was to be in Muslim hands. Also the right to a "reasonable percentage" of the resources derived from mining within the autonomous areas was agreed on.[143]

The methodology for the change to autonomy was agreed on between Kaddafi and Mrs. Marcos on March 19, 1977. Mrs. Marcos agreed to declare the thirteen provinces to be

autonomous and to appoint a provisional government which would then hold a referendum on "administrative details."[144] On March 26, in keeping with this accord, Nur Misuari was appointed to head the provisional government composed of fifteen MNLF members, thirteen provincial governors, and a regional commissioner.

Misuari and the other appointed members of the MNLF did not surface to claim their positions within the provisional government, leaving the remaining appointed officials to compose the questions for the proposed referendum. Rather than addressing the "administrative details" of the issue, they dealt with the question of autonomy itself. In areas where there were large numbers of Christians, they were given the option of withdrawing from any association with the "autonomous Muslim government." The MNLF, Kaddafi, and the Islamic Conference complained that the agreement had been for a referendum to formulate "...the administrative agreements within the areas of autonomy...and this means that the people be asked how to organize themselves administratively within the areas of autonomy."[145] They argued that autonomy was not open to question.

The referendum was held on April 17, 1977, with an overwhelming majority voting against the merger of the thirteen provinces into a single autonomous region. This resounding defeat for the MNLF was undoubtedly due to the Christians, who dominated the region numerically,

economically, and politically. It is understandable that they would be against any shift of power to the Muslims, especially to the MNLF.

Unfortunately, the Tripoli accords ended in a stalemate amid mutual recriminations. Although the negotiations had completely broken down, the cease-fire remained in effect until October 1977 when the AFP resumed full-scale operations.[146]

In March 1980 the Philippine government released a "primer" in which the Tripoli Agreement was described as having "lapsed or expired" because of the "intransigence of the MNLF." Within this document was also a denial of the MNLF as the legitimate representative of the Muslims of the southern Philippines.[147] Misuari's response was that the MNLF would no longer strive for autonomy but would revert to its original goal of succession and independence.[148]

3. Karachi Summit

The most recent attempt at reconciliation took place in Karachi, Pakistan in January 1983 during the World Muslim Conference. During this conference the Moros made an unsuccessful attempt at reunifying their various groups. The conference was dominated by Muslims residing in the Philippines with strong government connections. Rashid Lucman attended, but there was a noticeable void left by Misuari, Salamat, and Pundato. The primary accomplishment of the conference was a document entitled "The

Karachi Declaration for Peace and Unity." The signatories proclaimed their interest and support for the resumption of negotiations with the Filipino government on behalf of the Moros.[149]

The Karachi Conference also produced a reaffirmation of official support by the Islamic Foreign Ministers for Misuari and the MNLF. They restated their desire for direct negotiations with the Philippine government to gain full implementation of the Tripoli Agreements. The Foreign Ministers coninued to refuse support for Misuari's successionist stance and seem unlikely to impose any direct sanctions against the Philippines for non-compliance with the accords.[150]

V. HEADS OR TAILS

Within the context of the Moro Problem there emerge certain factors, some of which favor violence, others peace. In either case the United States and U.S. citizens within the Philippines are deeply concerned.

A. FACTORS FAVORING VIOLENCE

The results of the Christian migration from the north have undoubtedly caused the most profound problems for the Moros. There is a feeling among many Filipinos that the Muslims have been diluted and are therefore less of a threat.

On the other hand the Muslims insist that the figures only prove how their plight has been intensified. According to official government statistics there were 2.5 million people in the southern Philippines in 1948. In 1976 this figure had risen to 9.7 million.[151] Government estimates indicated that Muslims comprised 98 percent of the population in the south in 1913,[152] but only 21 percent in 1976.[153] Although the Muslims have decreased as a percentage of the population they have not decreased in actual numbers. When taking into account the number of Muslims who have fled over the border to Sabah as well as natural population growth, they have maintained a sizeable presence in these regions. There are presently 2.5 million Muslims in the south.[154]

In a recent interview with the author, the previously quoted Dr. Samuel K. Tan stated that "the Moros are as strong now as ever."[155] The strength of this statement will be tested by future events. It is clear, however, that any move by the government predicated on the further dilution of the Muslim population would lead only to increased tension and bloodshed.

With even a casual study of history one would be able to surmise that introducing Christians into a predominantly Muslim area will be hazardous at best. When these same Christians (or non-Muslims) settle on the ancestral homelands of Muslims the problem is compounded, as we see in Israel. In the Philippines, the migration program pursued by the government has done irreparable damage to the solidarity of the Moro homeland. Any move by the government to continue with further southward Christian migration will only aggravate an already tense situation. Agrarian discontent and overpopulation, especially in the central and northern islands, has made it impossible for the government to reverse the damage already done. The proximity factor is therefore one which can not be alleviated.

There is a strong perception among the Moros that the government is predisposed to favor Christians. This perception stems from the fact that the majority of the Philippines, 90 percent, is Christian with the government having similar representation.[156] The government-sponsored

program of southward migration has only strengthened this idea. It must be conceded that there is a moral obligation for the government to protect the people that it urged to resettle in Mindanao. This impression of favoritism has evolved for some into the feeling that anything Christian is bad and vice versa. Any major decisions by the government directly affecting the Muslim areas that can even remotely be construed as favoring Christians will likely be met with violent opposition.

In an attempt to protect the Christian settlers in the south, as well as maintain the general peace, the government has stationed heavily armed troops within the Muslim areas. It has been suggested, however, that the level of violence in the Muslim areas is directly proportional to the number of troops in the area.[157] The AFP is comprised of primarily Christian Filipinos from the northern islands. A tour of duty in the south is not one of the more preferred assignments. Living conditions for the common soldier are miserable and difficulties with supply channels only make matters worse. Accenting the distance from home is the fact that the languages of the islands are spoken regionally so a soldier from Baguio is not likely to understand the citizens of Jolotown which only serves to make him feel more lonely and isolated.

All of these factors lead to an undisciplined and unhappy military. Interservice rivalry between Army and

Constabulary units coupled with poor morale has led to periodic open warfare between opposing soldiers of the AFP.[158]

These factors have also led to atrocities among the civilian populace, particularly by police and civilian home defense forces. Looting, rape, and murder have been documented all too often in these areas. It has been common for commanders to overlook such activities by their men. This has only served to further antagonize the Muslim population. Any move by the government to increase the military presence will only increase the likelihood of bloodshed. Any atrocity by troops not dealt with by the military will be dealt with by the Moros.

The Moro requirement for personal firearms as a male status symbol has also proven to be a major factor against the peaceful resolution of Islamic disputes within the Philippines. A major cause of violence at the onset of martial law was the government's attempts to disarm the Moro civilian populace. Any such move now would surely be met with the same reaction.

Additionally, the Moro inclination for frontier style justice leads to blood feuds involving firearms. On occasion, the police or military have become involved in these feuds because of a lack of understanding of the situation. This has further complicated issues and increased the bloodshed. Regardless of the reasons for these encounters,

the presence of so many potential adversaries within so close a proximity must lead to occasional strife with the possibility of all-out warfare.

Land disputes are still common in the formerly all Muslim areas. Today the Muslims own less than 17 percent of the land on Mindanao which was previously totally under their control. Most of the land still owned by Muslims is in remote non-arable mountainous regions far from markets and infrastructure. Over 80 percent of the Muslims have become landless tenants.[159]

It has become all too easy for those involved in land disputes to label them as religious conflicts. Usually these disputes are between Muslims and Christians, the former claiming ancestral rights with the latter claiming legal rights. Although a larger number of Muslims have been appointed to the agencies who are intended to settle land disputes, they are still dominated by Christians displaced from the northern islands. Any change of policy by the government that could favor Christian settlers will cause a disproportionate negative response by native Muslims who feel they have been wronged over the past 400 years and are due compensation for their losses.

Within the Philippines there is a duality of economic development that has become especially acute over the past fifty years. This is manifested primarily in a mini-North-South debate. Development has always been centered first

in Manila and then has reached out from there. Typically, the further from Manila a problem is, the less emphasis is accorded it. With this more mature infrastructure, it is not difficult to understand why most new development and investment is within the northern areas. What small amount of improvement might have been afforded the south has now been sharply decreased with the severe economic crisis being faced by the Philippines.

No growth is expected in the gross national product for 1984 and inflation will probably top twenty percent. The real wages and general standard of living for most Filipinos, including the Moros, will fall significantly due to this economic crisis.[160] It follows that government promises of large scale infrastructure improvements will not likely be realized in the foreseeable future. This can only increase the frustration of the Moro people and incite further unrest and discontent with the central government.

What new developments and investments that are drawn toward the southern Philippines are typically from large multinational corporations whose primary goal is to take advantage of the abundant resources found there. B.F. Goodrich, Goodyear, and Firestone received 97 percent of all rubber income produced in the islands in 1981. Dole and Del Monte were responsible for 99.8 percent of all pineapple sales in 1970. Between these two companies, 16,400 hectares of land is used, making it the world's

largest pineapple plantation. The top export in 1979 for the region was bananas. It was totally controlled by four corporations; Del Monte, Dole, United Fruit, and Sumitomo. More than 27,000 hectares of land are currently devoted to this crop.[161]

Concessions for these activities are granted through the central government. These companies are given a relatively free hand in the running and protection of their investments to include hiring private security. Much of the work force is imported from the north. Since the taxes paid by these corporations go to the central government, few benefits filter down to the local communities.

Multinational activity has drawn some development and improvement programs to the south, but even these are criticized by the Moros. The most significant of these controversial projects is the construction of a number of dams. This project will generate electricity and feed new water channels to the larger corporate farming sites and agribusiness plantations. In the process, however, thousands of hectares of land now farmed by indigenous people will be flooded. This alluvial land is the most fertile and productive. The dams will reduce the amount of flow downstream which will adversely affect the traditional farming in the area.[162]

A financially ailing country must make pragmatic decisions. When it comes down to a decision between the Muslim

communities and the multinationals, the more financially profitable has been, and will probably continue to be, the more popular course of action for the government. These conditions will worsen relations between the Moros and the government.

Factionalism among the Moros is one of the biggest and most significant problems. The Moros have never been a homogeneous people. Dr. Tan, a Samal, has stated that the Muslims will never be unified due to the ethnic barrier that has always existed between their various regional groups.[163]

The only factors which have tied the Moros together have been their nationality as Filipinos and the religion of Islam. Their leadership has likewise been fragmented, usually following ancestral lines of allegiance.[164] This has hindered progress, be it either for peace or succession. Most of the dissident Moro leadership is based outside of the Philippines and out of touch with the people they claim to represent. The government cannot effectively negotiate due to the lack of central representation for the Moros. Although the Moros cannot launch an effective consolidated offensive, likewise they cannot control their elements sufficiently to prevent sporadic skirmishes with the military.

There are many things that could cause the consolidation of the Moro leadership. One scenario would be an abrupt deterioration of the already poor conditions in the

south which could be blamed on the government. In light of such disintegration, many of the ethnic barriers and political rifts currently separating the leadership would be quickly put aside. Should conditions of this magnitude come to exist, it is also likely that outside Islamic support would be increased and consolidated, further strengthening their efforts.

Due to the nature of the Islamic faith, many of its followers commonly defer to other traditional Islamic countries for advice, education, and leadership. The various Moro organizations today are continually petitioning Islamic countries and organizations for recognition and support. Should any of these countries or organizations find it beneficial to their own objectives to support them it could provide the necessary motivation to unify the Moros into a more cohesive force. Religion could then be employed as a justification for their eventual, possibly violent, actions.

Some Islamic countries have more leverage against the Philippine government than merely the threat of support for the insurgents. The nations of the Middle East hold nearly all the cards when it comes to oil supply. This can be a persuasive diplomatic tool. Iran has been exercising this option since 1980, but any slack was easily picked up by other suppliers. Saudi Arabia supplies 42 percent of the Philippines oil imports and employs approximately sixty

percent of the 500,000 overseas laborers exported as a natural resource from the islands. In 1982 the country received 700 to 800 million dollars return on these laborers with 1.5 billion dollars projected for 1983.[165] If Saudi Arabia alone or in concert with other Islamic countries were to exercise all their options, they could easily inflict serious damage upon the already ailing Philippine economy. By supporting the insurgents they could also hurt the government by causing increased military expenditures and diplomatic embarrassment.

The unfortunate result of so many divergent interests focused on the southern Philippines is that it is left with three parallel structures of authority competing to fill the government's position.

The first of these structures is the "official" government which is dominated by civilians. In the Muslim areas, the government has been divided into two semi-autonomous regional governments, one located in Cotabato City, the other in Zamboanga City, Each has a separate legislative assembly, executive council and supporting bureaucracy.

This arrangement has provided additional employment and training through participation, however, its effectiveness at the administration of "government" programs necessary to better the living standards and conditions in the south has left a lot to be desired.[166]

The second of these structures of authority, the military, gained power during martial law. The countryside still has the appearance of occupied territory due to the large military presence there. In many portions of the south, especially those which are isolated and rural, the military has assumed the additional duties of upholding law enforcement and the judicial process. Its primary source of power comes from its control of weapons. Military commanders have almost total control because of the weak links back to the central government.[167]

The third structure of authority operating in the Muslim areas is composed of the various armed bands claiming affiliation to one or more of the various insurgent organizations. The most common is the BMA portion of the MNLF. Due to the Islamic affiliation of these groups there is a strong motivation for Muslim citizens to adhere to and support them above the others.[168]

The overall result of these conditions can best be described as anarchy. Due to the competitive nature of these organizations, it is in the best interest of the citizens to support them only to the extent necessary to prevent reprisal from them but not enough to cause retaliation from the other groups. As long as this anarchical situation continues in the south, so will the unrest and violence.

There is one overriding factor present in the southern Philippines which will tend to increase the likelihood of

violent conflict any time a dispute arises which involves the Moro people. This one single factor is the Islamic faith. All of the world's major religions profess to abhore violence. The exception is the Muslim faith which not only justifies violence in its name, but requires it of all devout believers whenever a jihad is declared or decreed by the Qur'an. Islam also rewards those who give of themselves for this holy cause. A martyr who dies in the quest of Jihad is assured of a speedy entry into Heaven with no unpleasant stops in Hell due to possible misdeeds during one's lifetimes.

In Article III, Section 4, of the Constitution and Bylaws of the Muslim Independence Movement there is direct evidence of the call to Jihad for the Moro's cause. It declared that "it is the duty and obligation of every Muslim to wage Jihad, physically and spiritually to change Darul Aman (the present status of the Muslim communities) to Darul Islam (Islamic territory) and prevent it from becoming Darul Harb (hostile territory to the Muslims)."[169]

Jihad is, however, only one facet of the Islamic religion. The Filipino Muslims are currently undergoing a period of growing awareness of Islam. Some feel this is the primary cause of unrest among the Moro people.[170] The increased awareness has manifested itself in several ways. Notably among the Moro elite there is an Islamic fundamentalist movement that will, at least for the present time,

assure some degree of continued support from external sources.[171] This increased consciousness will cause a heightened sense of duty to jihad, which will sharpen the contrast between north and south. One of the primary vehicles for the fundamentalist movement has been the madrassa, an Islamic school usually connected to a specific mosque. They are frequently staffed by teachers who have trained in Islamic educational centers in the Middle East. The curriculum always includes instruction in the Arabic reading of the Qur'an, the performance of Islamic ritual, and the basic principles of Islam.[172]

Due to the lack of emphasis on any subject other than Islam, there is a tendency for this to lead to unrest and militancy towards the government. Many Muslims realize, however, that "the children need more than religion to better their lives and survive in a modern world."[173]

Another factor present in Islam which tends to lead to conflict is the Islamic requirement for no separation between church and state. In the words of Cesar Majul:

> It is inconsistent and not canonically possible for an individual to claim that he can still be a Muslim and not advocate the existence of a Muslim community ...Moreover, Allah has commanded the believers to act as a community or as a nation... It has been clearly demonstrated that no one can be a good Muslim unless he works for the unity and cohesion of the Muslim community as well as its social well-being.[174]

To act as an Islamic community, Moros feel that they require complete freedom to practice their divinely prescribed faith-ideology along with its doctrines, customs, and laws.

The presence of so many Christian military is perceived as a challenge to this principle of self-government by forcibly imposing Christian government rule upon the Moro people.

As long as the Moros have their religion to justify their actions as well as give them a sense of brotherhood among all Muslims and separation from the other Filipinos, there will be tension and violence in their regions of the Philippines.

When dealing with Southeast Asia in general and the Philippines in particular, regionalism is a factor which must be kept in mind. Regional identity and ancestral background will determine native language and possibly political allegiance. Unfortunately, the government has, on occasion, forgotten this basic factor when dealing with the Moros. After giving aid to one Muslim ethnic group, the government has taken credit for aiding all Muslims. This has served only to deepen ethnic barriers between the Muslim groups and widen the gulf between Muslims and the government.[175]

Much to the Moros detriment, a cultural stereotype has developed. Phrases such as "You can't trust a Moro," "They will just as soon kill you as look at you," and "The only good Moro is a dead Moro" are examples of negative phrases and sentiments that are occasionally evident.[176]

Another serious misperception by Filipinos when dealing with Moros is the idea of assimilation. This specific problem stems from a more general one that is evident worldwide. A majority is often times willing to welcome a minority into its ranks on the unspoken condition that the minority changes so that it is no longer distinguishable from the majority. The majority many times feels it necessary to offer integration as the road to a "better life" for the minority group. All too often, however, the minority does not share this view. The integration of the Moros into Filipino society, long a goal of the central government, seems to follow this line. The Moro people see integration as assimilation with an ensuing loss of religious and ethnic identity.[177]

Misperceptions and misundertandings of the Moro people have been a problem ever since the time of the Spanish. In an effort to increase its understanding of the Philippine Muslims the Southern Philippines Development Authority (SPDA) commissioned a two-million peso study to aid in development planning. A second study was commissioned to help solve implementation problems with projects already in progress. Both studies were halted and it was assumed by some that the government thought it knew enough and did not wish to know more.

An example of this lack of understanding was on the occasion of Mrs. Marcos' birthday in 1981. As head of the

SPDA she invited members to celebrate her birthday on Leyte. There were, of course, a number of Muslims in attendance. Souvenirs were given to the guests to include a small statue of the Santa Nino (clad in red velvet) engraved with "Ferdinand Romualdez Marcos II." Another example of misunderstanding was when Malacanang invited a group of visiting Muslim officials to lunch during Ramadhan. To many Muslims these were more indications of the lack of sensitivity to religious differences.[178]

As long as the central government continues to display insensitivity and a lack of understanding of the Moros, there is bound to be unrest and insurgency in the south.

B. FACTORS FAVORING PEACE

There are many factors which favor the increase of stability and peace in the Muslim areas of the Philippines. The reversal of any of the negative factors, which have already been covered, would greatly enhance the conditions which currently prevail. Many of the negative factors also have positive aspects to them. Some of these will be covered in this section.

An example of one such double ended factor is the infrastructure development programs within the south. Although many of these projects may have had adverse effects during implementation, most will, at least superficially, benefit the community upon completion. Road development may destroy

ancestral lands but, when complete, is available for all to use. The construction of dams has also caused a large amount of tension due to flooding, however, when complete, the electricity will benefit the rural communities and perhaps the effects of drought may be lessened. Unfortunately, many of these projects have been seriously eroded and some cancelled due to the current state of the economy.

The government has found that it is politically advantageous and economically expedient to fund the building of Islamic mosques. For a relatively small expenditure, a large amount of goodwill is fostered within portions of the Muslim communities. This type of aid is specific and sensitive to the Moro people and therefore counteracts the prevailing negative image of the government.[179] Furthermore, Marcos has resorted to outright bribery to woo some dissatisfied Moros away from their fellow religionists.

Another method used by the government to gain acceptance by the Muslims was the modification of national laws in recognition of religious differences.[180] Actually this was a no loss, multiple gain decision by the government. It is difficult and expensive to enforce the law in the south and it was apparent that the laws forbidding multiple wives and divorce were unenforceable. Exemptions from these laws, which were contrary to Islamic doctrine, were intended to exemplify the government's sensitivity to and acceptance of the Muslim faith. A similar decision was the legalizing of

Muslim holidays in the south. This helped offset the negative factor of the many Christian holidays observed throughout the Philippines.

The form of government has changed radically within the south. Local officials are elected by the populace and fill most positions at this level. Many Muslims hold positions now, but so do many Christians due to their large population in the south. Muslims can no longer argue that they have no part in the government which controls them. Whatever the level of participation by Muslims, each election or appointment is recognition of them as a people by the government.

The two semi-autonomous regional governments now operating in Muslim areas are proof that the government at least partially adhered to the Tripoli Agreements. The rationale used at the negotiations for two rather than one regional structure was an additional advantage for the government. It argued that:

> Two regional legislative assemblies and two executive councils (one per region) will enable more Muslims to participate in the administration of government affairs and train them in leadership. Leadership and administrative skills are what most of the Muslim youth need now.[181]

The old adage of "divide and conquer" might apply as an ulterior motive for this dual arrangement. It would be virtually impossible for the Muslims to form a united front within this structure.

Education has become a focal point for the government. In an attempt to draw the Muslim youth away from the madrassa, it has funded the building and staffing of schools. The curriculum is designed to better prepare Muslim youth for survival in the modern world and to better cope with world situations. This is a no risk venture for the government since attendance is not mandatory and some community development is observed by the Muslims.

Although the south remains a military stronghold, there have been some short term improvements within the Muslim areas. The most notable difference is the reduced number of military troops stationed there. This is due to increased communist NPA activities in the eastern regions of Mindanao which have drawn the military away from the Muslim communities. As late as 1981 there were twelve battalions in the southern Philippines to suppress the insurgencies. Now there are six battalions, approximately 3,500 Army and Marine troops, being used primarily to suppress the communist insurgency in the eastern portions of Mindanao.[182]

The military has also increased discipline among the military in the south, replacing lax commanders and holding civil rights offenders accountable for their misdeeds. This has not completely eradicated atrocities but they have been reduced.[183]

The turmoil provoked by Christian troops in Muslim areas has diminished somewhat but this is seen as only a

short term benefit. Confidence in the government and its troops has not significantly improved.

The factionalism of the Moro insurgent leadership is an example of a factor which has both benefitted and hindered the government. One benefit is the lack of a unified opposition to the government by the insurgents. There is some feeling that some of the factionalism has been fostered by the government in the hope that this might afford some small amount of control. The physical separation of the insurgent leadership from its followers has additionally contributed to the factionalism and disunity of the Moro cause. The ethnic barriers within the Moro culture are also a prime factor preventing the unified leadership of the Muslims of the Philippines. As long as the government can face a factionalized people and insurgency it is assured of a weak opponent.

In an effort to reduce the potential number of rebels in the south, the government has instigated various incentive programs which have been at least partially successful. These programs typically involve amnesty, food, clothing, shelter, concessions, or government positions and jobs. Exact figures on the funds allocated and expended or types of programs are not available. Some figures of questionable accuracy, recently attributed to Simeon Datumanong, head of the regional government in central Mindanao, will at least give a rough estimate as to the government's

interests and involvement in these programs. He claimed that surrendering rebels were given free food and clothing for three months and houses costing $2,500,00. He said that this program has already expended $1.25 million on the rehabilitation of former rebels. There was also a program designed to resettle and rehabilitate an estimated eight million people affected by the conflict.[184] These incentive programs are at least partially responsible for the decrease in armed Muslim rebels from 30,000 to approximately 15,000.[185] It is questionable as to how long the government can continue such an expensive method of nullifying its opponents given the current economic crisis.

The current world situation has benefitted the central government vis-a-vis the Muslim insurgents. The Islamic Conference still supports the MNLF, but it does not condone radical support as have individual Islamic countries in the past. There is no substantial evidence that the insurgent groups are receiving direct aid such as terrorism training, weapons supply, or military advisors as it did in the past. Islamic countries which have endorsed the various Moro insurgent groups and have been prone to such support are currently involved in their own struggles which are proving costly. Examples are Iran's preoccupation with its war with Iraq, Syria's conflict with Lebanon and Israel, and Libya's excursions into Chad. This may be a long or a

short term benefit to the government, but either way the government has no control over it.

The Moros do not have a monopoly on insurgency in the Philippines. Today (1984) a major portion of the AFP is occupied in an attempt to subdue the New People's Army (NPA), the military wing of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). It has been estimated that the Communists may influence as much as forty percent of the area outside the major urban population centers to some degree.[186] In May of 1984, President Marcos put the number of Communist guerrillas in the NPA at 6,810.[187] James Kelley, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, however, cites the guerrilla strength at about 10,000,[188] while the CPP places it at about 20,000.[189]

The NPA was born with the merger of the CPP student/ intellectual leadership and an armed remnant of the Huks. In 1969 they started with only a few hundred guerrillas but grew to several thousand in the early 1970s when they suffered devastating losses in battle with the AFP.[190] The growing Moro insurgency caused the diversion of the AFP forces which allowed for the recuperation of the surviving NPA to the strength that it is today. In the early 1970s the NPA operated in 10 to 20 man armed units. As of June 1984, 200 to 300 man operations were becoming more frequent.[191]

The NPA forces have expanded beyond the traditional Huk areas in Luzon and by July 1984 were active in 62 of the Philippine's 73 provinces.[192] The rich natural resources and deep-water ports of Mindanao make it important both economically and militarily. Philippine Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has acknowledged that Mindanao is the region in which the NPA problem has intensified the most, citing at least 16 guerrilla fronts.[193] The area in the vicinity of Davao in eastern Mindanao has become one of the primary hot-beds of NPA activity, and more activities have spread their ripples all over Moroland.[194]

The common people in communist areas are continually faced with the dilemma of whom to support. Many areas are patrolled by the AFP during daylight, but are controlled by the NPA at night. Either side will severely punish those who are suspected of cooperating with or supporting the other. The Moros are caught in the middle between the military and the NPA.

There are important differences between the NPA and the AFP in the way that they are perceived by the people with whom they have direct contact. The AFP tends to treat the local populace as if they were the enemy, not the subject of protection from hostile forces. The NPA has gone to great lengths to convey the "Robin Hood" image, acting as protectors and attempting to identify the people's interests with their own.

The NPA uses violence to achieve specific political objectives. They target selectively, many times killing mayors who resist the NPA in the takeover of their small towns and citizens who speak out against them. Although this is crass terrorism, it is not difficult to understand in advance who will be targeted and how to stay out of trouble with the NPA. Small farmers know that if they maintain a low profile, appear to cooperate with the guerrillas, hand over relatively small amounts of food and money that are demanded, and remain silent about NPA killings in their villages, they have little to fear.[195] When mounting a military action, the NPA strives for overwhelming firepower against the defending government forces. This tactic maximizes their chances for success and creates the image of power in the minds of the people. The NPA has probably killed many more civilians than has the military over the period from 1980 to 1985, however, the military is still more feared due to the systematic violence used by the NPA versus the seemly random violence used by the AFP.

The AFP has the image of using indiscriminate violence without regard for the political consequences. They have the reputation of beating a community into submission if it is suspected of sympathizing with and harboring the NPA.[196]

As the NPA has grown in size and activity, so has its need for ever-increasing funds. Mining and logging companies pay "revolutionary taxes" of up to $5,000,00 per

month to the NPA in return for "protection."[197] Most all of the large multinational corporations operating in the Philippines need large and expensive machinery which is difficult to protect. The alternative to the revolutionary taxes is the targeting and destruction of this machinery.

Some military commanders have implied that some Catholic priests and nuns in Moro country are in collusion with the CPP/NPA. This is partly a result of the activities of some clergy who have become particularly outspoken and active in opposition to the government. Ever since the Aquino assassination, the government's charge of "inappropriate clerical activity" has become more frequent and strongly worded.[198]

There is also a large movement within the Catholic Church in the Philippines advocating the formation of Basic Christian Communities (BCC). They are a form of social organization which emphasizes local authority and individual decision-making partially in response to the lack of these virtues in the outlying communities. The BCC doctrine seems similar to those advocated by the NPA and have therefore been linked together by the military and the government.[199]

Due to the ideology of CPP/NPA doctrine, it does not seem likely that the Moros will ever officially support the CPP. Any support from the Islamic Conference or other sympathetic Muslim countries would likely be lost if a

formal union between the two groups was ever made. That does not rule out the possibility of local informal agreements to prevent conflict between BMA and NPA field units.

The NPA, however, would welcome an alliance with the Muslims, as long as it would further the NPA cause. A Filipino communist spokesman who indicated that the NPA could offer the MNLF advice in building better political structures suggested that in return the MNLF assist them in obtaining weapons because "the Moros have centuries of experience in smuggling weapons."[200] The National Democratic Front (NDF) was established by the CPP on April 24, 1973 as a front organization for the outlawed party. It now functions as a de facto government in many of the areas where guerrilla fronts have been well established; collecting taxes, implementing land reform programs, organizing public works and schools, and administering a revolutionary justice system. The NDF's founding document made it clear as to their attitude about the Muslims in the south:

> We salute the Moro people and those leading them in a resolute armed struggle for national self-determination. So long as they are confronted with a regime as oppressive as that of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, they are completely correct in going to the length of fighting for secession.
>
> We are prepared to develop further relations with the Moro National Liberation Front, the Bangsa Moro Army and other organizations. They have all the right to fight the imperialists and their puppets for grabbing their lands and other resources and for exploiting the people.201

The chairman of the CPP, Amado Guerreno, stated that "the CPP and the MNLF are bound by similar goals and by the need to struggle against a common enemy. So there is a wide basis for their unity, cooperation, and coordination."[202] The old personal ties between the CPP and the MNLF should not be overlooked. Misuari and Guerreno both attended the University of the Philippines together and were both active in the KM youth organization.

There are also those who feel that an agreement has already been reached. Major General Delfin Castro is in charge of anti-guerrilla operations and has led the Zamboanga City based southern command since 1981. Recently Castro said he believed that the NPA and MNLF have joined forces.[203] Other military commanders do not maintain the same opinion. Presently the Moros and the NPA are fighting a common foe, however, should either encroach upon the others territory without permission turbulence would likely ensue.

C. AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE MINDANAO SITUATION

American national interest in the Philippines has diplomatic, economic, and strategic implications. Official ties with the United States were formed and cemented during the American period. Economically the Philippines trades heavily with the U.S. and there is a preponderance of American firms entrenched throughout. Strategically, the archipelago's geographic location places it at the Pacific

entrance to the Indian Ocean and along the sea lines of communication (slocs) between East and South Asia. This is a prime location for American sea and air bases. Anything which would threaten U.S. personnel and installations within the Philippines would jeopardize U.S. national interest.

The future of war and peace in Mindanao is of immense interest to the United States. It is entirely possible that both the Moros and the Filipinos in Mindanao will find further cause for anti-American acts and attitudes if they experience greater displeasure in the policies of the U.S. towards the Philippines under the contemporary Marcos regime.

Recently there has been a marked increase in Philippine nationalism which is more Filipino than Moro. This intense pride in nation and heritage has fostered anti-American feeling which is, however, shared by some Moros due to the American record in Moroland. The lingering resentment over the American colonial period is exacerbated by the continuing U.S. presence, primarily military and multinational.

English is still the primary language used in commerce and politics. Newspapers, television, radio, and even government statistics are in English, even though the official national language is Pilipino.

From the viewpoint of the Moros, much of their anti-American emphasis will be linked to their need for weapons and ammunition and its effect on the success of their

revolution. A large majority of the weapons within the Philippines are of U.S. manufacture. Likewise, a vast majority of the weapons used by the Moros are also American made. There are large weapons and ammunition storage facilities at Subic and Clark. There are also likely to be weapons and ammunition transported between these facilities on open roads making them vulnerable to attack and seizure. The Moros want weapons wherever they can get them, and will look for help wherever they can find it. Since both the Muslims and the NPA desperately need weapons, any American source of weapons is bound to be their primary target.

Some anti-government groups feel that the United States is aiding and abetting their enemy, the Marcos administration. Funds and military sales from the United States are, in fact, the primary support for the AFP. In 1982 the estimated defense expenditure by the government of the Philippines was $877.76 million.[204] The U.S. bases agreement package was signed in May 1983 and covered by compensation for the use of the bases for the period of 1984 through 1989. The amount was set at $900 million, an increase of 80 percent. Of this amount, outright military grants were increased from the $50 million to $175 million and military sales credits were boosted from $250 million to $300 million.[205]

In an MNLF newsletter it was stated that:

> The weaponry obtained by the Philippines under the assistance program has been responsible for arming the Marcos military in its genocidal war against the Bangsamoro people....
>
> This is one of the reasons why the Muslim people in the Southern Philippines have taken an anti-American position....[206]

In testimony before the U.S. House Sub-Committee on International Organizations, the statement was made that the Mulsims "know that practically all the arms of the Philippine military forces have been supplied by the U.S. government."[207]

The omni-present military in the south, brandishing American weapons and commanded by officers trained to some degree by the United States, is a constant reminder of the American support for the central government. Although no concerted direct action has been taken against American concerns to date, the real possibility of threat exists and must be considered when planning for future American involvement in the area.

The greatest threat of violence against American personnel and facilities comes from the Moro connection with countries which have already demonstrated an anti-American posture. Countries such as Syria, Iran, and Lybia are prime examples. Iranians in the Philippines have tried to mobilize the Moros in support of their own revolutionary goals with limited success. Actions promoted by these

groups have resulted in protest marches against the U.S. Embassy and distribution of anti-U.S. literature.[208] The primary obstacle to Iranian involvement is the fact that Iranians are Shi'ite Muslims while most Moros are of the Sunni sect. Further Iranian involvement should not be discounted, however, since religious differences could be put aside should there be sufficient motivation.

Another stumbling block to the U.S. vis-a-vis the Moros is its support of Israel. Like Japan, Korea, and Indonesia, many people in the Philippines feel that the U.S. is too pro-Israel and they resent its pro-Israel policies.

There is a potential non-violent threat to U.S. national interest, both in the Philippines and worldwide. This threat is from the Muslims in the south and their connection with the Middle East oil suppliers. This influence could be used to gain leverage against the United States. The MNLF has already gained the support of Iran in the curtailment of oil exports to the Philippines. Saudi Arabia has proven that it will use this option in the momentary suspension of its oil supply to the Philippines in 1980.[209] Should the Middle East oil suppliers find it within their national interest to use leverage against the United States in support of the Islamic independence movement in the southern Philippines, it would be difficult to find an American alternative. Although it does not seem likely that the

Moros would or could exercise this option at present, it should be kept in mind in light of changing world situations.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The struggle of the Moro people in the southern Philippines against the central government is as old as their existence. Much of this has been aggravated by the lack of honest efforts on the part of the majority ruling parties to come to know the people, their customs, and their religion. Although the Marcos regime has been no better than its predecessors, a way must nevertheless be found to reduce the severity of the struggle and to discover a path to peaceful coexistence.

There is, however, confusion as to what the future might hold for the Moro people and for the Filipinos who maintain homes in the south. With the intrusion of the NPA into the Muslim problems, the prospects for continued violence outweigh the prospects for peace.

It does not seem likely, or even probable, that the U.S. national interests will be threatened by the Moros apart from the NPA, but American interests in the southern Philippines are threatened as long as the quasi war exists. It is decidedly in the American interest that the conflict be brought to an end.

The Moro people are not demanding anything which they do not feel was theirs originally. They want to pursue their religious faith in their own way. They only wish to reside

peacefully on their ancestral lands and to be left alone to work out their own problems with the Filipinos, the government, the military and the NPA. Unfortunately, the march of time and "progress" has not allowed their plea, leaving only the possibility of continued violence in the future. It is not an American responsibility to decide whether the Moros will fade into the social background; or whether there shall be local autonomy; or whether they will find stronger means to fight for their rights. It is elemental that as long as the U.S. depends upon the Philippines as an ally in Southeast Asia, it wants an ally whose social fabric is as free as possible from flaws and blemishes.

ENDNOTES

[1]Ahmad, Aijaz, 'Class and Colony in Mindanao' in "400 Year War-Moro Struggle in the Philippines," Southeast Asia Chronicle Issue No. 82 (February 1982), p. 6 and also in Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981, The Making of a Stalemate," Asian Survey Vol. 21, No. 11, (1981), p. 1100.

[2]Jenkins, David, "Insurgency, not external threat, is the worry," Far Eastern Economic Review March 10, 1983, p. 18.

[3]Ahmad, Aijaz, 'Who is the Moro?' in "400 Year War-Moro Struggle in the Philippines," op. cit., p. 2.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Noble, Lela Garner, "The Moro National Liberation Front," Pacific Affairs (Canada) Vol. 49, Issue 3, (1976), p. 415.

[6]Ahmad, Aijaz, 'Who is the Moro?' in "400 Year War-Moro Struggle in the Philippines," op. cit., p. 3 and also Jenkins, David, op. cit., p. 18.

[7]Stewart, James C., "Maguindanao," Richard V. Weeks (ed.) Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey (Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 241.

[8]Gowing, Peter Gordon, Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979), pp. 84-85.

[9]Ibid., p. 90.

[10]Stewart, James C., op. cit.

[11]Saleeby, Najeeb, M., "History of Maguindanao," Peter Gordon Gowing and Robert D. McAmis (eds.) The Muslim Filipinos; Their History, Society, and Contemporary Problems (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974), p. 187.

[12]Majul, Cesar Adib., Muslims in the Philippines (Manila: St. Mary's Publishing, 1973), p. 66.

[13]Rasul, Jainal D., Muslim-Christian Land: Ours to Share (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, Inc., 1979), p. 41.

[14]Stewart, James C., op. cit., p. 243.

[15]Majul, Cesar Adib., op. cit., p. 67.

[16]Isidro, Antonio, "Education of the Muslims," Peter Gordon Gowing and Robert D. McAmis (eds.), The Muslim Filipinos: Their History, Society and Contemporary Problems (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974), p. 271.

[17]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 80.

[18]Riemer, Carlton L., "Maranao," Richard V. Weeks, (ed.) Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey (Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 268.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 90.

[21]Reimer, Carlton L., op. cit., p. 270.

[22]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, Revolt on Mindanao: The Rise of Islam in Philippine Politics (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 170.

[23]Geoghegan, William H., "Sama," Richard V. Weeks (ed.) Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey (Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 341.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 92.

[26]Wulff, Inger, "Yakan," Richard V. Weeks (ed.) Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey (Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 483.

[27]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 91.

[28]Wulff, Inger, "Features of the Yakan Culture," Peter Gordon Gowing and Robert D. McAmis (eds.) The Muslim Filipinos: Their History, Society, and Contemporary Problems (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974), p. 246.

[29]Wulff, Inger, "Yakan," op. cit., p. 484.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 85.

[32]Peters, Jens, The Philippines: A Travel Survival Kit (Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1983), p. 25.

[33]Hart, Donn V., "Tausug," Richard V. Weeks (ed.) Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey (Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 400.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Majul, Cesar Adib, op. cit., p. 37.

[36]Ibid., p. 112.

[37]Ibid., p. 292.

[38]Kiefer, Thomas M., The Tausug: Violence and Law in a Philippine Moslem Society (New York: Holt Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1972), p. 4.

[39]Ibid., p. 85.

[40]Kiefer, Thomas M., "The Tausug of Jolo and the Modern Philippines," Peter Gordon Gowing and Robert D. McAmis (eds.) The Muslim Filipinos: Their History, Society, and Contemporary Problems (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974), p. 105.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Hart, Donn V., op. cit., p. 401.

[43]Ibid., p. 402.

[44]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, op. cit., p. 215.

[45]Kiefer, Thomas M., op. cit., p. 39.

[46]Ibid., p. 40.

[47]Ibid., p. 124.

[48]Ibid., p. 128.

[49]Ibid., p. 114.

[50]Iqbal, Muhammed, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, (Lahore: Javid Iqbal, 1962), p. 149.

[51]de Graaf, Henry, "Southeast Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century," in P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambtonn, and Bernard Lewis (eds.) Cambridge History of Islam (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 155.

[52]Rasul, Jainal D., Muslim-Christian Land: Ours to Share, (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, Inc., 1979), p. 2.

[53]Majul, Cesar Adib, Cultural Diversity, National Integration, and National Identity in the Philippines, (Caloocan City: Cinvislam Press, 1971), p. 8.

[54]Lala, Ramon R., The Philippine Islands, (New York: Continental Publishing, 1898), p. 118.

[55]Majul, Cesar Adib, "Chinese Relationship with the Sultanate of Sulu," in Alfonso Felix (ed.) Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770, (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1960), Vol. 1, pp. 144-145.

[56]Tan, Samuel K., The Filipino Muslim Armed Struggle, 1900-1972, (Philippines: Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1977), p. 11.

[57]Gowing, Peter Gordon, Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979), p. 31.

[58]Instruction from Governor General Francisco de Sande to Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa on May 23, 1578, regarding an expedition to Maguindanao. "Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao, Francisco de Sande and others: Manila, April 19, 1578 to June 10, 1579." Blair and Robertson, The Philippine Islands, Vol. IV, p. 178.

[59]Rasul, Jainal D., op. cit., p. 9.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Majul, Cesar Adib, Muslims in the Philippines, (Manila: St. Mary's Publishing, 1973), pp. 108-111.

[62]Ibid., pp. 111-116.

[63]See the Spanish Period section of Chapter III for his letter of instruction as governor.

[64]Majul, Cesar Adib, Muslims in the Philippines, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

[65]Ibid., pp. 132-133.

[66]Ibid., pp. 191-248.

[67]Ibid., pp. 283-316.

[68]The treaty arrangements are interesting, as they came into conflict with treaties that the Americans and British negotiated at the same time with the Sultan of Sulu.

[69]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 34.

[70]Ibid., p. 35.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Tan, Samuel K., op. cit., p. 166.

[74]Qur'an, Sura 7:17, 59:23-24.

[75]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 166.

[76]Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Tan, Samuel K., op. cit., p. 25.

[80]Ibid., p. 26.

[81]Author's interview with Mr. Kurt Perry, Economic Attache, Embassy of the United States, Manila, August 23, 1983.

[82]Ahmad, Aijaz, 'Class and Colony in Mindanao,' "400 Year War--Moro Struggle in the Philippines," Southeast Asia Chronicle Issue No. 82, (February 1982), p. 8.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Noble, Lela Garner, "The Moro National Liberation Front," Pacific Affairs (Canada), Vol. 49, Issue 3, (1976), p. 406.

[85]Ibid., p. 407.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ahmed, Aijaz, op. cit., p. 9.

[88]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, Revolt in Mindanao: the Rise of Islam in Philippine Politics, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 123.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Ibid., p. 124.

[93]Ibid., p. 125.

[94]Noble, Lela Garner, op. cit., p. 409.

[95]Ibid., p. 411.

[96]Philippines Free Press, June 1, 1968, cited by Lela Garner Noble in "The Moro National Liberation Front," op. cit. The KIM was later renamed the "Mindanao Independence Movement" in an attempt to broaden its base beyond Muslims.

[97]The term "bangsa" is derived from the Malay term "kabongsan" which means nation. Thus the phrase "Bangsa Moro" means Moro Nation.

[98]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

[99]Gowing, Peter Gordon, Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979), p. 192.

[100]Ibid., p. 193.

[101]McAmis, Robert D., "Muslim Filipinos: 1970-1972," in Peter Gordon Gowing and Robert D, McAmis (eds.) The Muslim Filipinos: Their History, Society and Contemporary Problems, (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974), p. 46.

[102]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 193.

[103]Ibid., p. 194.

[104]McAmis, Robert D., op. cit., pp. 48-49, 51.

[105]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 195.

[106]Arab Report and Record, October 1-15, 1971, p. 533.

[107]Philippine Sunday Express, September 24, 1972, p. 7.

[108]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 196.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Noble, Lela Garner, op. cit., p. 411

[111]Ibid., p. 414

[112]Ibid.

[113]Author's interview with Mr. Kurt Perry, Economic Attache, Embassy of the United States, Manila, August 23, 1983.

[114]Noble, Lela Garner, op. cit., p. 416.

[115]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, op. cit., p. 117.

[116]Ibid., p. 196.

[117]Ibid., p. 197.

[118]Ibid., p. 198.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Noble, Lela Garner, op. cit., p. 415.

[121]See section on Tripoli Agreement on p. 78.

[122]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, op. cit., p. 228.

[123]Noble, Lela Garner, "Mindanao: A Perspective from the Philippine Frontier," a paper for a conference on "Southeast Asian Studies and International Business," Northern Illinois University, 31 May - 2 June 1983, p. 4.

[124]Noble, Lela Garner, "The Moro National Liberation Front," op. cit., p. 413.

[125]Noble, Lela Garner, "The Moro National Liberation Front," op. cit., p. 413.

[126] Arab Report and Record, op. cit.

[127] Noble, Lela Garner, "The Moro National Liberation Front," op. cit., p. 413.

[128] George, Thayil Jacob Sony, op. cit., p. 199.

[129] Noble, Lela Garner, "The Moro National Liberation Front," op. cit., p. 413.

[130] Haggani, Husain, "Factionalism Stalks the Moro Camp," Arabia, The Islamic World Review, (June 1983), p. 38.

[131] Tasker, Rodney, "Calm on the Moro Front," Far Eastern Economic Review" 9 August, 1984, p. 30.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Hollie, Pamela G., "Marcos to Visit Saudi Arabia to Ease Moslem-Rebel Issue," New York Times, March 10, 1982 and Ruiz, Sonora Nieves, "Philippines bow to Saudis, soften line on Muslim rebels," Christian Science Monitor, April 14, 1982.

[134] Tasker, Rodney, op. cit.

[135] Mahardika (Self-determination and Independence), Official Organ of the Moro National Liberation Front, Vol IX, No. 1, (1982), p. 1.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid., Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 1.

[138] Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate," Asian Survey, Vol 21, No. 11, (1981), p. 1099.

[139] The Southwestern Philippines Question, Second Edition, (Philippines: Department of Foreign Affairs, 1977), pp. 48-50.

[140] Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate," op. cit., p. 1100.

[141] Hollie, Pamela G., op. cit., and Ruiz, Sonora Nieves, op. cit.

[142]Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate," op. cit., p. 1099.

[143]The Southwest Philippines Question, op. cit., pp. 76-82.

[144]Ibid., pp. 95-98.

[145]Ibid., p. 95.

[146]Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate," op. cit., p. 1102.

[147]Regional Autonomous Governments, Southern Philippines, issued by Manuel Collantes, Chairman, Cooperation for Southern Philippines, p. 8.

[148]Mahardika (Self Determination and Independence), Official Organ of the Moro National Liberation Front, (April 1980), The Speech to the International Conference on Prophet Mohammed and his message delivered in London on April 12-15, 1980.

[149]Noble, Lela Garner, "Mindanao: A Perspective from the Philippine Frontier," op. cit., p. 4.

[150]Ibid.

[151]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, Revolt in Mindanao: The Rise of Islam in Philippine Politics (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 225.

[152]Ahmad, Aijaz, 'Class and Colony in Mindanao' in "400 Year War--Moro Struggle in the Philippines," Southeast Asia Chronicle Issue No. 82 (February 1982), p. 9.

[153]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, op. cit., p. 225.

[154]Noble, Lela Garner, "Mindanao: A perspective from the Philippine Frontier," a paper for a conference on "Southeast Asian Studies and International Business," Northern Illinois University, 31 May - 2 June 1983, p. 4.

[155]Author's interview with Samuel K. Tan, Professor of History, University of the Philippines, 27 August, 1983.

[156]Peters, Jens, The Philippines - A Travel Survival Kit, (Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1983), p. 25.

[157]Author's interview with Dr. Lela Noble, September 1983.

[158]Jenkins, David, "All the President's Men," Far Eastern Economic Review, March 10, 1093, p. 15.

[159]Ahmad, Aijaz, "Class and Colony in Mindanao," op. cit.

[160]Far Eastern Economic Review Asia 1984 Yearbook, p. 250.

[161]'Who Profits from the Land?' in "400 Year War--Moro Struggle in the Philippines," op. cit., p. 14.

[162]Ahmad, Aijaz, "Class and Colony in Mindanao," op. cit., p. 10.

[163]Author's interview with Samuel K. Tan.

[164]Haggani, Husain, "Factionalism Stalks the Moro Camp," Arabia, The Islamic World Review, June 1983, p. 38.

[165]Noble, Lela Garner, "Mindanao: A Perspective from the Philippine Frontier," op. cit., p. 5.

[166]Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate," Asian Survey, Vol 21, No. 11, (1981), p. 1105.

[167]Ibid., p. 1106.

[168]Ibid.

[169]Glang, Alunan C., Muslim Secession or Integration? (Quezon City: Garcia Publishing Company, 1969), p. 107.

[170]Author's interview with Samuel K. Tan.

[171]Ibid.

[172]Gowing, Peter Gordon, Muslim Filipinos--Heritage and Horizon, (Quezon City, New Day Publishers, 1979), p. 71.

[173]Author's interview with Samuel K. Tan.

[174]Majul, Cesar Adib, Muslims in the Philippines: Past Present, and Future Prospects, (Manila: Converts to Islam Society of the Philippines, 1971), pp. 26-27 cited in Peter Gordon Gowing, op. cit., p. 202.

[175]Author's interview with Samuel K. Tan.

[176]Ibid.

[177]George, Thayil Jacob Sony, op. cit., p. 87.

[178]Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate," op. cit., p. 1110.

[179]Author's interview with Samuel K. Tan.

[180]Gowing, Peter Gordon, op. cit., p. 185.

[181]The Southwestern Philippines Question, Second Edition, (Philippines, Department of Foreign Affairs, 1977), p. 85.

[182]Jenkins, David, "Insurgency, not external threat, is the worry," Far Eastern Economic Review, March 10, 1983, p. 18 and Ocampo-Kalfors, Sheilah, "Eastern Davao is the hot spot as NPA ambushes claim more victims," Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 March 1983, pp. 20-21.

[183]Noble, Lela Garner, "Mindanao: A Perspective from the Philippine Frontier" op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[184]Ibid., p. 5.

[185]Noble, Lela Garner, "Political Developments in the Philippines: Short-Term Stability, Long-Term Risks," an article prepared for the U.S.-ASEAN Conference on Economic, Political and Security Issues in Southeast Asia in the 1980's, November 2-5, 1981, Denpasar, Indonesia, p. 9.

[186]The Situation in the Philippines, a staff report prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, October 1984, p. 21.

[187]Munro, Ross H., "Dateline Manila: Moscow's Next Win?" Foreign Policy, No. 56, Fall 1984, p. 181.

[188]Testimony of James A. Kelley, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, February 7, 1984.

[189]Sacerdoti, Guy, "Red 'army' on the march," Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 June 1984, p. 40.

[190]The Situation in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 23.

[191]Branigan, William, "Rebel Filipinos Widen Scope of Drive on Army," The Washington Post, 3 December 1984, p. A28.

[192]The Situation in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 23.

[193]Rosenberg, David A., "Communism in the Philippines," Problems of Communism, September-October 1984, p. 38.

[194]The Situation in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 38 and also in Branigan, William, op. cit.

[195]Munro, Ross H., op. cit., p. 184.

[196]The Situation in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 16.

[197]Munro, Ross H., op. cit., p. 181.

[198]The Situation in the Philippines, op. cit., p. 18.

[199]Ibid.

[200]Quinn-Judge, Paul, "Mindanao," Christian Science Monitor, January 5, 1983, pp. 12-13.

[201]Southeast Asia Chronicle, June 1980, p. 7.

[202]Rosenberg, David A., op. cit.

[203]Ocampo-Kalfors, Sheilah, op. cit., p. 20.

[204]Far Eastern Economic Review Asia 1984 Yearbook, p. 34.

[205]Ibid., p. 249.

[206]Mahardika (Self Determination and Independence), Official Organ of the Moro National Liberation Front, Vol. IX, No. 3, (1982), p. 3.

[207]Testimony by Sergio Osmena III to the U.S. House Sub-Committee on International Organizations, April 27, 1978.

[208]Noble, Lela Garner, "Muslim Separatism in the Philippines, 1972-1981: The Making of a Stalemate," op. cit., p. 1112.

[209]Ibid.

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST

		No. Copies
1.	Defense Technical Information Center Cameron Station Alexandria, Virginia 22304-6145	2
2.	Library, Code 0142 Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5100	2
3.	Department Chairman, Code 56 Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5100	1
4.	Professor Claude A. Buss, Code 56Bx Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5100	2
5.	Professor Edward A. Olsen, Code 56Os Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5100	1
6.	Professor Kamil Taha Said, Code 56Si Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5100	1
7.	Asian Seminar, Code 56 Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5100	1
8.	Captain Dennis B. Fowler U.S. Embassy, Manila Defense Attache Office APO San Francisco, California 96528	2
9.	Major Charles Earnhart AFIT/CISP Wright Patterson AFB Ohio 45433	1

10. Center for Naval Analysis — 2
    2000 North Beauregard Street
    P.O. Box 11280
    Alexandria, Virginia 22311

11. Defense Intelligence Agency/AT-3 — 1
    Washington, D.C. 20301-6111

12. Defense Intelligence Analysis Center — 1
    Defense Intelligence Agency - RTS-2A
    Bolling AFB, Washington, D.C. 20301-6111

21423S

Thesis
F66362 Fowler
c.1 The Moro problem:
an historical perspec-
tive.

21423S

Thesis
F66362 Fowler
c.1 The Moro problem:
an historical perspec-
tive.

thesF66362
The Moro problem: an historical perspec
3 2768 000 62868 9
DUDLEY KNOX LIBRARY